

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

VOL. 32

MARCH, 1950

No. 2

THE NEW LIBRARIAN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY.

BY PROFESSOR H. B. CHARLTON.

IT falls to my lot, as chairman of the Book and Publications Committee, to introduce our new librarian to readers of the BULLETIN. I have known him since he came to Manchester University in 1934 as its Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures. Ever since then I have watched him gathering academic honours for himself by his researches and academic reputation to Manchester University by the output from his department of the researches he has inspired in the students whom he has disciplined, gently but rigorously, to research. But he has done it all without flourish and without display; for he is a very representative Scots scholar—he is shrewd, but not showy. Moreover, he is or was, not long since, as good with his golf and his tennis as he is with his learning. He seldom misses a Saturday football match. He is a D.D. of St. Andrews and was a scratch man on the St. Andrews links. He is not very fond of making speeches, but when a social occasion requires him to do so, he prefers reciting *ad hoc* verses of his own composition, duly and fully laced with the pawkiness of good Scots humour. But he has imposed brevity on my part in this account of him. He cannot, however, prevent my adding to it two appendices: (a) an extract from the entry in "Who's Who", and (b) a resolution adopted by Senate and Council of the University when, in 1945, he retired from his professorship in Manchester.

(a) "Robertson, Edward, M.A., B.D., D.Litt., D.D., b. Cameron, Fife, 1880, son of a Fifeshire schoolmaster. Educated at St. Andrews, and then in the Universities of Leipzig,

Berlin, Heidelberg. Spent a year in Syria studying Arabic. Assistant to Professor of Hebrew, St. Andrews, 1905-6; Carnegie Research Scholar, 1907-8; Carnegie Research Fellow, 1909-10; Lecturer in Arabic, Edinburgh University, 1913-21; Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures, University College of North Wales, Bangor, 1921-34; Dean of Faculty of Theology, 1922-34; Vice-Principal, 1926-28; D.Litt. (St. Andrews), 1913; D.D. (St. Andrews), 1929; Gunning Lecturer in the University of Edinburgh, 1929-32; Pro-Vice-Chancellor University of Manchester, 1944; President of Old Testament Study Society, 1948; member American Oriental Society, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Royal Asiatic Society. Publications: Translation of Arabic MS. on Calligraphy; A Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS. in Edinburgh University Library (in collaboration); articles on Syrian and Palestinian Place-Names in *Encyclop. Britannica* (14th ed.); Catalogue of Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library; articles in journals."

(b) "That on the occasion of the retirement of Professor Edward Robertson from the Chair of Semitic Languages and Literatures, the members of Council desire to place on record their deep gratitude for the devoted and distinguished service which he has rendered to the University during his tenure of the Professorship.

"When he was appointed in 1934 the Department could muster a total staff of three. In the intervening years, and in spite of war and rumours of war, that number has been doubled, and provision made for research and teaching in important and fruitful fields of Semitic Studies. It is no more than bare justice to say that this school is now one of the best equipped and most progressive in the country. Not only has Professor Robertson enlarged the establishment; he has also succeeded in attracting to it men of outstanding ability, and in finding means to publish the important original researches carried out by them in the school. The quality of the work done has brought to the Department, and to the University, a reputation second to none in this field of learning. This reputation owes very much to Professor Robertson's keen

interest in and expert supervision of his research workers ; it owes even more to his own publications, and particularly to the chief literary undertaking of his Manchester period, his Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, a work in which the highest standards of wide-ranging and exact scholarship are brilliantly maintained.

“ Besides all this he has taken his full share in the carrying on of our University business, in Committees, on Court and Council, and in the office of Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The University has greatly profited from his wide knowledge, shrewd judgment, and constant readiness to give time and strength in the service of the highest academic ideals. His colleagues have rejoiced in their association with one on whose courtesy, kindness, and consideration they could absolutely rely ; and they are united in offering to him and to Mrs. Robertson their warmest good wishes for the future.”

NOTES AND NEWS.

IN 1949 the John Rylands Library celebrated the Jubilee of its formal dedication to the public, which took place on the 6th of October, 1899. In the pages below Professor Charlton, Vice-Chairman of the Governors, traces its history and development during the past fifty years and pays tribute both to the benefactress who founded and endowed it, Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands, and to the late Librarian, Dr. Henry Guppy, who guided its growth from the beginning of the century to his death in August, 1948.

THE JUBILEE
OF THE JOHN
RYLANDS
LIBRARY.

The occasion of the Jubilee was marked in October by two broadcasts, the one printed below, delivered on the Third Programme on the 6th, and a shorter survey given on the North Home Service the preceding day by Mr. Colin Wills entitled "An Australian Looks at Rylands". On the 12th of October a public lecture, "The Jubilee of the John Rylands Library", was delivered in the Library Lecture Room by Professor Charlton before a large audience, including Governors and other distinguished guests. In March of this year the Library is to receive an official visit from the Lord Mayor of Manchester, whose predecessor, Alderman, afterwards Sir William, Vaudrey, was present at the inaugural ceremony in 1899 and the subsequent presentation of the Freedom of the City to Mrs. Rylands. This will be the first occasion in its history on which the Library has been honoured by a civic visit.

At the meeting of the Council of Governors held on the 24th of October, 1949, the Chairman (Sir John Stopford) reported that Alderman Wright Robinson had been compelled by pressure of work to resign from the post of Honorary Treasurer. Alderman Robinson's resignation was accepted with regret and he was thanked for his valuable services. He was appointed Treasurer in October, 1944, having been a

CHANGES IN
THE ADMIN-
ISTRATIVE
PERSONNEL
OF THE JOHN
RYLANDS
LIBRARY.

Governor since December, 1939. Mr. A. Maurice Haworth, M.A., who has been a Governor since December, 1939, has been appointed to succeed him.

The Chairman also reported with regret that Mr. J. Harold Brown wished to resign from the post of Honorary Secretary for reasons of health. In thanking Mr. Brown for all he had done during his tenure of office, the Chairman drew attention to his long and intimate association with the Library and expressed appreciation of the many services he had rendered. Mr. Brown first joined the Board of Governors in 1930 and had been Honorary Secretary since October, 1934. In March, 1938, he became a Trustee of the Library. He has been succeeded as Honorary Secretary by Mr. L. H. Orford, M.A., LL.B., who has been a Governor since March, 1937.

In June, 1949, the Rev. H. Townsend, M.A., D.D., a Governor of the Library since March, 1939, resigned in consequence of his removal from Manchester. His seat on the Council has been filled by the appointment of the Rev. Herbert Motley.

It was officially announced in November that the Queen will visit Manchester University in May, 1951, on the occasion of the centenary of the foundation of Owens College. Her Majesty will have an honorary degree conferred on her.

VISIT OF THE
QUEEN TO
MANCHESTER
UNIVERSITY.

Owens College, founded as a private trust under the Will of John Owens, a Manchester merchant, was opened in 1851 at a house in Quay Street, formerly the residence of Cobden. Its constitution was reorganised by Acts of 1870 and 1871 and in 1873, the old accommodation proving inadequate, the main building on the present site was opened. When the Victoria University was instituted seven years later Owens College became its first constituent College and the two existed side by side for twenty-three years. This federal constitution was abolished in 1903 and an independent University of Manchester came into existence. In the following year, on the 24th of June, Owens College was incorporated with the University.

In November and December the Library co-operated in the series of exhibitions "Holland in Manchester", a selection of the more important of our examples of fifteenth-century printing in the Netherlands being displayed in the Main Library.

EARLY
DUTCH
PRINTING.

Among the fourteen items exhibited were two block-books—the "Apocalypse" (Schreiber I), to which Mr. A. M. Hind in his "History of Woodcut" assigns a date "nearer to 1440 than 1425", and an uncoloured "Biblia Pauperum" (Schreiber IV, c. 1465-70)—and a copy of the "Speculum Humanae Salvationis" (Schreiber III, c. 1472), one of the so-called "Costeriana", in which the text is partly xylographic and partly printed from movable types. The first printed edition of the Dutch Bible (Delft, Jacobszoon and Yemantszoon, 10th January, 1477), and the "Dialogus Creaturarum Moralisationis" (Gouda, G. Leeu, 1480), a fine book with 121 woodcut illustrations, formed part of the exhibit. Books printed in Culenburg, Deventer and Utrecht, all containing woodcuts, were also on view, probably the most interesting being the "Boec van den Houde" (Culenburg, Jan Veldener, 6th March, 1483), which, it has been suggested, is composed of cuts made for a lost block-book of the "Historia Sanctae Crucis".

The manuscript of Volume IV of the "Catalogue of Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library" has been completed and is now in the hands of the Printer to the Oxford University Press. This volume will deal mainly with miscellaneous public and private documents (legal records, accounts and papers, correspondence and similar materials), including a Byzantine archive of *circa* A.D. 320 and all the documentary texts of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods acquired for the Library by Rendel Harris in 1917 and Grenfell in 1920. The Governors have been fortunate in being able to enlist again the services of Mr. C. H. Roberts, Reader in Papyrology in the University of Oxford, as editor. Mr. Roberts was responsible for Volume III in the same series, which was pub-

LIBRARY
PUBLICA-
TIONS.

lished in 1938 and dealt with literary and theological texts (Nos. 457-551), including the now famous fragments of St. John's Gospel (first half of the second century) and Deuteronomy (second century B.C.). Associated with him in the preparation of the fourth volume will be Mr. Eric G. Turner, Reader in Papyrology in the University of London.

The survey of the Library and its contents which appeared in 1935 under the title "The John Rylands Library, Manchester: 1899-1935. A Brief Record of its History" has for some time been out of print. A revised edition, bringing the account of the Library's collections up-to-date, has been undertaken by the Librarian at the request of the Governors and will be published in the near future.

The following is a list of recent Library publications, consisting of reprints of articles which appeared in the last issue of the BULLETIN (September, 1949):—

"The Problem of the Epistle to the Hebrews", by T. W. Manson, D.Litt., F.B.A., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. 8vo, 19 pp. Price one shilling and sixpence net.

"Investigations into the Old Testament Problem: The Results", by Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Librarian of the John Rylands Library. (Formerly Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester). 8vo, 28 pp. Price two shillings net.

"Recent Discoveries and the Patriarchal Age", by Harold H. Rowley, M.A., D.D., Theol.D., F.B.A., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, 38 pp. Price two shillings net.

"Gymnasium Debts and New Moons", by Eric G. Turner, M.A., Reader in Papyrology in the University of London, and Otto Neugebauer, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of the History of Mathematics, Brown University. 8vo, 19 pp., with facsimile. Price one shilling and sixpence net.

"The Masks of Greek Comedy", by T. B. L. Webster, M.A., F.S.A., Professor of Greek, University College, London. 8vo, 39 pp., with two plates. Price two shillings net.

Recent manuscript accessions to the Library include:—

Will of John Bradshaw, Sergeant-at-law and Chief Justice of Chester (President of the Court which tried Charles I). 22nd March, 1653/54. Codicils, 23rd March, 1653/54 and 10th September, 1655. Probate, 16th December, 1659. (Deposited by Messrs. Smith, Fort and Symonds).

RECENT
MANUSCRIPT
ACCESSIONS.

A collection of Derbyshire documents (Monyash, Parwich, Taddington). 1468-1695. 39 items. (Presented by Sir J. Herbert Thompson, C.I.E.)

A collection of Lancashire documents, mainly concerning Ainsworth, Radcliffe and Middleton. 1202-1789. 107 items. (Deposited by H. C. Irvine, Esq.).

Court Books of the Manor and Forest of Gillingham, co. Dorset: July, 1593-January, 1605; June, 1620-August, 1624; October, 1636-September, 1640; April-December, 1641; October, 1644-October, 1647; September, 1656-September, 1670; October, 1677-April, 1700. 7 folio volumes. (Supplementing the collection of Gillingham court records, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century, which the Library purchased with the Nicholas Papers in 1919).

Lady Crutchley MSS.: Supplementary deeds and charters relating to Derbyshire (mostly), Lancashire and Suffolk. Temp. John—1757. 21 items. Included are charters of Henry III, Edward I, and William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby. (Deposited by Gerald E. V. Crutchley, Esq.). The Lady Crutchley MSS. were deposited in the Library in 1926.

Deeds, family papers and business records relating to the Micklethwaite family and to Yorkshire (W.R.), including account books, rent books and over three hundred and fifty letters (1786-1838); many concern John Micklethwaite, merchant of Leeds and Ardesley. Sixteenth-twentieth century. 830 items. (Presented by F. M. Thirkell, Esq.)

The Library's collection of Lutheran and Reformation tracts, comprising both volumes owned by the Library and the valuable Crawford deposit, has been enriched by the purchase of editions of two tracts by Luther, "Eyn Sermō von der Bereytung zum Sterbenn" (Erfurt, 1520) and "Epistola

Lvtheriana Ad Leonem Decimvm . . .", Wittebergae (1521), and of a tract attributed to Ulrich Hutten, "Das Teütsch Requiem über die verbränte Bull . . .", [Augsburg, 1520].

PRINTED
BOOKS:
SOME
RECENT
ACCESSIONS.

A recent gift by Mr. George Benson, M.P., has made a notable addition to the Library's material on the history of English Socialism. It includes works by Robert Owen, Bronterre O'Brien, Jacob Holyoake and William Thompson; Thompson, described by Menger as "the most eminent founder of scientific Socialism", is represented by his most important work, "An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth". The earliest item is "The Poor Man's Advocate", London, [1649], by Peter Chamberlen, physician and writer on theological and social subjects. Even more valuable are the early Socialist periodicals, which include Robert Owen's "The Crisis" (1832-34), the first three volumes of "The Black Dwarf" (1817-19), Volume I of "The Economist", projected by Robert Owen, 1821, and, in a volume of tracts of the last decade of the eighteenth century, Nos. 2-6 of "Hog's Wash", which forms part of the first Socialist periodical recorded by Menger.

Important additions in the field of archæology have also been received by gift: they include two fine volumes from the Trustees of the late Sir Henry Wellcome, "The Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan, Vols. 1-2; Jebel Moya", and from Princeton University the concluding part ("Arabic Inscriptions") of the important work "Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archæological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909."

During the latter half of 1949 the following donors have made valuable gifts to the Library, the figures within brackets denoting the number of volumes in each gift.

GIFTS TO THE
LIBRARY:
PRINTED
BOOKS.

Individual Donors.

George Benson, Esq., M.P.	E. Arsenio Manuel, Esq. [1].
[29].	Sir Frederick Maze, K.C.M.G.
Edward L. Bernays, Esq. [1].	[1].

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| E. F. Breaker, Esq. [1]. | The Rev. Dr. N. Micklem [1]. |
| Dr. Curt F. Bühler [2]. | Dr. T. D. Mosconas [1]. |
| Dr. W. H. Chaloner [1]. | Professor O. Neugebauer [1]. |
| Miss N. A. Dawson [1]. | F. F. A. Pearson, Esq. [1]. |
| D. E. Dekkers, Esq. [1]. | The Rev. Professor H. H. |
| Professor C. U. Faye [1]. | Rowley, D.D. [1]. |
| S. Gal, Esq. [2]. | C. R. Sanderson, Esq. [1]. |
| Mrs. C. W. Gamble [1]. | G. Sarton, Esq. [1]. |
| Professor J. Hammer [1]. | Miss Florence E. Sumner [6]. |
| R. Hawkin, Esq. [7]. | Dr. F. Taylor [1]. |
| W. M. Hugill, Esq. [1]. | F. M. Thirkell, Esq. [1]. |
| L. G. Lawrie, Esq. [1]. | The Rev. W. H. Thompson |
| G. Legman, Esq. [1]. | [1]. |
| The Rev. S. Levy [1]. | A. P. Wadsworth, Esq. [9]. |
| The Librarian [1]. | S. F. Watson, Esq. |
| W. Lowndes, Esq., A.L.A. [1]. | |

Societies and Institutions.

- Aberdeen University [1].
 Aberdeen University Library [2].
 Aberystwyth : National Library of Wales [1].
 Alexandria : Patriarchal Library [1].
 American Academy in Rome [3].
 American Zionist Emergency Council [1].
 Baltimore : Peabody Institute [1].
 Barcelona University Library [1].
 Basel University [11].
 Birmingham : Selly Oak Colleges Library [1].
 Birmingham University [1].
 Boston Public Library [1].
 British Council [1].
 Cairo : Académie Fouad Ier de Langue Arabe [2].
 Canada, High Commissioner for [1].
 Central Office of Information [1].
 Copenhagen : Royal Library [2].
 Copenhagen : Royal Library—Institut Danois des Échanges
 [1].

- Copenhagen : Library of the Museum of Decorative Art [1].
Douala : Institut Français d'Afrique Noire [3].
Duke University Library [1].
Edinburgh University [1].
Glasgow University [7].
Göteborg : Stadsbibliotek [2].
Halle University Library [5].
Hertfordshire : County Archivist [1].
India, High Commissioner for [1].
Italian Embassy, London [1].
Jerusalem : Jewish National and University Library [1].
Kansas University [1].
Leeds University [1].
Leeds University Library [1].
Leiden : Nederlandsch Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten [6].
Lincolnshire : Archives Committee [1].
Liverpool University [1].
Liverpool University Library [1].
London : Dr. Williams's Trust [1].
London : The London Mosque [1].
London : School of Oriental Studies [1].
London University : Institute of Advanced Legal Studies [1].
Louvain University [10].
Lund University [4].
Manchester Statistical Society [1].
Manchester : Town Clerk [1].
Manchester University [2].
Massachusetts Historical Society [1].
Michigan University [7].
Michigan University : William L. Clements Library [3].
Minnesota University [3].
München : Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [4].
New York Public Library [1].
New York University [2].
New Zealand, High Commissioner for [1].
Northampton, Mass. : Smith College [1].
Princeton University [1].
Providence : John Carter Brown Library [1].

Reading University [1].

Saint Andrews University [1].

Saint Domingo University [6].

San Marino : Henry E. Huntington Library [10].

Santiago de Compostela University Library [1].

Saskatchewan University [1].

Sheffield University [1].

Singapore, Colony of : Government [1].

Société des Bollandistes [2].

Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne [1].

Sydney : Public Library of New South Wales [1].

Texas University : Institute of Latin-American Studies [1].

Utrecht University Library [1].

Washington : Folger Shakespeare Library [1].

Washington : Library of Congress [1].

Washington University : Saint Louis [1].

Wellcome, Sir H., Trustees of [2].

Wellington, N.Z. : Alexander Turnbull Library [2].

Yale University Library [5].

In addition to these donations a number of learned societies and other bodies have continued to present copies of their periodical publications.

THE JUBILEE OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.¹

By H. B. CHARLTON, M.A., D. DE D., LITT. D.

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

FIFTY years ago to the very day, on the 6th October, 1899, the John Rylands Library was formally dedicated to the use of the public. The event was one of the three or four signal acts by which nineteenth-century Manchester claimed and justified its rights in the world of culture, rights no less considerable than those it had previously won for itself in the realms of industry, commerce, and politics. Charles Hallé settled in Manchester in 1849; John Owens's bequest enabled Owens College to be set up in 1851; C. P. Scott became editor of the *Manchester Guardian* in 1872; and in 1899 the widow of John Rylands founded and endowed the John Rylands Library as a memorial to her husband. These are not fortuitous and unrelated occurrences. The Hallé Orchestra, the University of Manchester, the *Manchester Guardian* and the Rylands Library are symbols of the spirit which was the soul of nineteenth-century Manchester. Each in its own way is the outcome of the cultural aspirations of a distinctive society, the wealthy merchants and manufacturers of cottonopolis, those indigenous Lancastrians and those many merchant settlers from the Continent who brought to their adopted city a way of the intellectual and artistic life which admirably tempered the native austerity of a predominantly Puritan body.

The Manchester Man of the nineteenth century played his part in shaping the mind of to-day. One such man was John Rylands. He was almost the perfect example of the type. Yet it was as a memorial to him that his widow built in the heart of Manchester a library which finds no room at all on its shelves for books on pure or applied science nor on those practical arts

¹ A broadcast of the 6th of October, the substance of which was given as a lecture in the John Rylands Library on the 12th of October, 1949.

and affairs of industry and commerce which are commonly taken to symbolise the life of Manchester. His outstanding aptitude was for business ; he believed in hard work and long hours of it, in thrift and self-help ; he believed also in Cobden and Bright and in what Liberals called progress through independence : and he believed in the God of the Protestant Bible as it was expounded by Free Church theologians. His main intellectual interest was in religion, particularly in biblical studies and Nonconformist doctrine ; his private hobby was the planning of acts of benevolence in such a way that their performance was as unobtrusive as possible. He was born in 1801, the son of a cotton goods manufacturer of St. Helens. On leaving school he started a small weaving concern on his own account ; later he took his elder brothers and his father into partnership, and set up in 1819 the firm of Rylands and Sons in Wigan where they manufactured gingham, dowlases, calicoes and linen. He did the travelling for the firm, and established a warehouse in Manchester in 1823. The business grew rapidly, extending its interests to dyeworks, and bleaching, and spinning : in addition, rich deposits of coal were discovered under some of the firm's newly acquired properties. His brothers retired in 1839, and in 1847 his father died, leaving John the sole proprietor of the concern. He opened a warehouse in London, and in 1873 converted the business into a limited company with a capital of £2,000,000. He married three times ; his six children by his first wife pre-deceased him ; he had no others. He married his third wife when he was 74 : it was she who on his death in 1888 determined to build the Library as a worthy memorial to him. Had any of John Rylands' children survived, or had he not at the ripe age of 74 married for the third time, there might have been no Rylands Library.

A library seemed her obvious choice for the memorial. Though John Rylands would never take part in organised philanthropies, he had given largely throughout his lifetime ; he had established orphanages, and homes for aged gentlewomen ; he provided a town hall, public baths, and a library for Stretford, the town adjacent to Manchester wherein stood his residence, Longford Hall. But the benevolence which was a day to day

habit with him was directed to the intellectual help of poor Free Church ministers. He regularly presented books to them so that they could keep abreast of current thought and opinion. He also accumulated at Longford Hall a collection of books which seemed to him particularly suitable for the intellectual and cultural needs of ministers of religion. He had himself employed scholars to prepare special editions of the Bible which he then had printed and distributed freely. It was natural, therefore, that his widow should think a library the most appropriate memorial, a library predominantly theological in character, though not exclusively theological in content nor narrowly theological in range.

Such was the scheme. In 1889 the designing of a building had been entrusted to Basil Champneys. It was to be in the heart of mercantile Manchester, so as to be most easily accessible to its clients. But it had not to look mercantile. Its style was to be something between that of a college and of a church, a building the components of which could not inappropriately be called aisles, or apses, or cloisters. Modern Gothic is perhaps not an obviously suitable style for Manchester's Deansgate. Moreover, a building like the Rylands, to be seen at all, needs a surrounding belt of unoccupied space. Still, whatever may be said aesthetically about its style and its location, as a building it is a tribute to the craft of the masons, the sculptors, the metal-workers and the wood-carvers who shared in the making of it. It has solidity, dignity and solemnity : in an accountancy sense, it was well worth the quarter of a million which Mrs. Rylands spent in the building of it.

The stonemasons began to build in 1890. But, in 1892, years before the structure could be completed, the nature of the collection of books it was meant to house was changed by a happy circumstance. A great, and predominantly humanist, collection of books, Lord Spencer's Althorp Library, came into the market and was bought by Mrs. Rylands for another quarter of a million pounds. It was certain therefore that the future John Rylands Library would be at least as strong in its humanist as in its theological interests. Whilst work on the building was in progress, Mrs. Rylands, acting on the advice of such scholars

as Dr. Fairburn, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, was collecting wisely and lavishly. She also in 1899 appointed the man who for nearly fifty years was to direct the Library's progress, Henry Guppy. He had been sub-librarian to a Free Church library, that of Sion College, and came to Manchester at first to share responsibility with the well-known bibliographer Gordon Duff; but in a very short time, he became sole librarian and continued as Rylands Librarian until his death last year. The building was ready for the service of the public shortly after Guppy's arrival; it was officially opened on the 6th October and, very appropriately, by Dr. Fairburn.

The quality of the Library as it now is, and the specific function it seeks to fulfil have been determined through the last fifty years largely by three factors. First, the nature of the initial collection; secondly, the constitutional arrangements for government, and particularly the active governorship of such University representatives as Tout the historian and Peake the Biblical scholar; and thirdly, the personality of the late librarian Henry Guppy.

As has been said, the Library was intended as a working Library for theological students. The first purchases, however, naturally included many secular English classics. But the cultural extension of the Library's function was revolutionised by the acquisition of the 40,000 volume Althorp Collection, one of the most famous private libraries in the world. This had been brought together by successive Earls Spencer—though mainly by the second Earl, who had inherited from his father 5000 volumes gathered by an Eton schoolmaster and containing a fair number of Elizabethan items. After succeeding to the Earldom, the second Earl's determination to be a great collector had fuller opportunity. In 1790 he added to his own stock the whole of the library of a Hungarian nobleman, Count Reviczky, whose travels and diplomatic appointments had made him known to scholars, dilettanti and cognoscenti throughout Europe. The Reviczky Collection was particularly noteworthy for its handsome copies of the first printed editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, and for its examples of the finer work of the scholar-printers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries such as

Aldus, Stephanus, Morel and Turnebus, and of the de luxe printers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as Baskerville, Foulis and Tonson. Here, then, in the Reviczky Collection, was a repository comprising well-nigh everything that survives in letters of the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome: and Lord Spencer acquired it for £1000 down and an annuity of £500 a year. As Reviczky died only three years after the transaction, the Library cost Earl Spencer £2500. Its present value cannot be less than £1,000,000. Lord Spencer's plans for the development of his Althorp Library were largely determined by his incorporation in it of the Reviczky books. He would, of course, replace, where possible, a Reviczky example with a cleaner copy. He would endeavour to find copies of a first or of very early editions of classical authors which had eluded Reviczky's search. There is, for example, an amusing story of how he beguiled the King of Würtemberg to accept a number of theological items in exchange for two very rare and early editions of Virgil. Further, finding that his editions of the classics provided him with work of the earliest printers, Lord Spencer turned to collecting examples of the earliest works of the presses of Europe, whether editions of classical writers or not. In that way, inevitably, he became possessed of a large number of Bibles, for, except in England, the Bible was in early demand from the press. Further still, this interest in the earliest products of the earliest presses of Europe naturally suggested the gathering of the Caxtons and Wynkyn de Worde's of our own belatedly-born first English presses. We have now sixty-three Caxtons, six of them unique copies.

When in time the Althorp was brought to the Rylands, the Rylands inevitably became a resort for three main trends of scholarship. First, its contents were primary material for the prosecution of the technical science of bibliography, comprising the study of incunabula (books, that is, produced before 1500 when printing was still in swaddling clouts), of processes of typography and of binding, and the technique of description, classification and collation. Secondly, as the content of the bulk of the collection was classical, here was the main material

for the literary exploration of Humanism in its ancient, its medieval and its renaissance kinds. Thirdly, both with the classical books and especially with the Biblical texts, here was primary material for strictly textual study and exegesis.

But the Rylands, like all great libraries is not only a repository of books. As early as 1901 Mrs. Rylands acquired for it at a cost of £200,000 a famous collection of MSS., 6000 items, from the Bibliotheca Lindesiana gathered by many generations of Earls of Crawford in the preceding four centuries. It contained, of course, many Latin MSS., including examples of first-class quality from most of the great schools of medieval Europe: but its great feature was its collection of sumptuous examples of Persian and Arabic calligraphy, and Chinese graphic art. When incorporated in the Rylands, it could not but prompt further activities in the study of palaeography and calligraphy: it suggested also the building of an equivalent body of Western manuscripts, as well as the linking of our Oriental collection with the Biblical collections already in the Library.

Such then, is the stock and the potentialities with which the Rylands Library started. A further factor which strongly influenced the particular direction of development was the constitutional relationship of the governors with the University of Manchester. In itself this guaranteed that however much the Rylands would be prized as a bibliophilic museum, its major activity would be as a working library for scholars, and mainly for scholars in Biblical, medieval and neo-humanist fields. Though its almost unique collection of classical authors is one of its glories, these volumes seem to have excited the bibliographer more than the strict classical scholar, and the humanist outcome from them has been mainly transferred to medieval and modern literary fields; perhaps because side by side with Homer and Virgil in the Italian incunabula there was bound to be Dante and Petrarch and Boccaccio. The development of the Biblical and the medieval potentialities has been more spectacular and more direct. The stock of printed Bibles has been increased, and most strikingly in 1936 when Mrs. Hartland presented the 2000 Bibles which formed the Copinger Collec-

tion. But it is rather by its manuscript additions that the imagination has been most stirred. It became usual to appoint as Keepers of Western and of Oriental MSS., persons eager to discover fresh material in the field. Rendel Harris and Mingana are names which spring to mind; and they often worked in conjunction with scholars like Grenfell and Hunt. Amongst the papyri which came to Manchester in this way, were discovered two unique Biblical items—a fragment of Deuteronomy written in the second century B.C. and therefore competing with the recently discovered Dead Sea scrolls as the earliest known manuscript of the Old Testament; and a very small fragment of the Gospel of St John, dating from the second century A.D., and therefore the earliest known fragment of the New Testament.

It was, however, the medieval side of the Library's evolving function which showed the most productive results in scholarship. And it was almost entirely due to a governor, who in due course was Chairman of Governors, the late Professor T. F. Tout. He had come to the Chair of Medieval History at Manchester University in 1890, and had devoted himself to the building up of a research school of medieval studies. By a scholar's interest and an administrator's genius he guided the extension of the Rylands Collection of medieval manuscripts, always with an eye for those which, when interpreted, would increase our knowledge of the Middle Ages. In the course of time, besides the national documents assembled, there was gathered in the Library's Charter Room a large collection of deeds, charters, rolls and allied papers. The Library has also from very early years been an approved repository for archives: and in its custody are extensive series of family papers such as the Mainwaring MSS., the Jodrell MSS., the Tatton MSS., and, most complete of all, the collection of Lindsay-Crawford papers, namely, the Haigh Muniments and the Scottish Muniments.

In attempting, as we have done, to follow the growth of the Library, there is one further formative power to reckon with—namely, Henry Guppy, librarian for forty-nine years. Without being a scholar in the traditional sense, he was learned in the science of bibliography and expert in the typographical history of the English Bible. But his personality dominated the whole place:

it is hardly an exaggeration to say that he created the Library. By temperament and conviction he shared John Rylands' belief in the Free Churches, and in the part a library could play in enhancing the intellectual and spiritual forces which make for the Christian life. He regarded his librarianship as a kind of secular priesthood, and the Library itself as in a special way under the particular protection of Providence. In that faith he fought against the Governors' desire to remove its treasures out of the reach of bomb and fire during the war: it was only after the property abutting on the building on both sides of it had been gutted by air-raid damage that he consented to co-operate with Providence and find safe hiding in remoter areas for the Library's rarities. His abiding object was to make the Library of use to those for whom John Rylands had intended it. He instituted the Rylands Lectures, an annual programme of discourses given in the Library by chosen lecturers on topics in some way related to the treasures of the Library. He edited, too, a Bulletin, which now appears twice yearly, and which reprints the Lectures given in the Library, and other pieces of scholarship connected with our collections. Whilst developing this missionary side of the Library's usefulness, Guppy never forgot its primary function, to serve the needs of research, whether the research of a distinguished European scholar or the first attempts of a young graduate.

In this brief survey of the makers and shapers of the Library one other person must be named by name—the late Lord Crawford and Balcarres. Himself a survivor of the fast-disappearing bibliophilic nobility, like-minded with the Spencers and the Reviczky's whose collections now enrich ours, he acted for many years as a Trustee of the Rylands, keeping a watchful eye on ways and means for fostering its development. On its twenty-fifth anniversary, he handed to it a collection of 20,000 tracts drawn from the period of the French Revolution. His son, the present Earl, has recently deposited, on semi-permanent loan, some half-dozen other collections of this kind of primary material for literary and historical research: he has done so to ensure that, although many of the riches of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana are to be dispersed, large sections of it which are

mainly the material from which the story of the past must be unrolled may be kept together and placed at the disposal of scholars.

So much for the Rylands to-day as it ends its fiftieth year. What of its future? Mrs. Rylands endowed it with a capital of £300,000, bringing her total outlay for building, special collections, and endowment to over £1,000,000. It had long been hoped that a second benefactor of like munificence to Mrs. Rylands might appear and extend the structure of the Library : and the mere growth of the stock will very quickly make considerable structural extension not only desirable but absolutely necessary. Moreover, within the boundary of cultural interests with which it is associated, fresh fields of material from time to time emerge : a new hoard of papyri, the dispersal of a baronial collection and so on. But it appears now that the day is gone when men would and could perpetuate their names by large memorial endowments : Rylands can hardly hope to find a Nuffield to follow. Even more disturbing is the fact that, in the world of to-day, what once was a handsome income is now inadequate to meet the routine expenses of the day. Hence, for mere maintenance and quite apart from large-scale development, the Rylands must find additional resources on which to live. Perhaps, as it is undoubtedly a national institution, and one, moreover which, if not unique, has fewer than half-a-dozen parallels in Britain, it may look for some sort of subsidy from public funds, so long as such subsidy does not invade the autonomy of the Library.

As it is unlikely that resources will ever again be available for the purchase of exhibition-pieces, such as illuminated manuscripts, for instance, or jewelled bindings, the Library must develop to the full its function as a scholar's working library. It must increase its stock, not by unique museum pieces of fabulous worth, but by photographic or photostatic or microfilm reproduction of such items. It must develop its own equipment, already highly efficient, for the making of reproductions by these processes, and for the using of those made elsewhere, so that all that the Rylands has and all that other libraries have may be available to scholars in and around

Manchester. In the main, the material which in this way would be made available would be what scholars call 'original sources'. For English scholars, the great stand-by for these is the British Museum in London, and the usefulness of the British Museum from this point of view is greatly enhanced by its rights under the English Copyright Act. To establish copyright in a book, a publisher must deposit a copy on the day of publication in a specified number of libraries, the chief of which is the British Museum. So, all British publications are to be found at the British Museum. But why should a Lancashire man have to go to London to see them? Why should not a Manchester library be a 'copyright' library, automatically receiving gratis a copy of every book published? Clearly, all sorts of problems are behind this question. To receive a book involves a trust to keep it; and that necessitates huge storage reservoirs; moreover, a library like the Rylands is only concerned with certain ranges of books, and, at most, would seek a selective right to receive only such books as fall within its scope of interests. But to be assured of receipt, without charge, of all new books within the scope of that interest, would be an enormous boon to a library with a shrinking income. Why should not Manchester inherit the 'copyright' privilege which, presumably, Dublin will now resign or forfeit?

THE EGERTONS IN ITALY AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1729-1734. WITH TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM JOSEPH SMITH, SOMETIME H.M. CONSUL AT VENICE.

By W. H. CHALONER, M.A., Ph.D.

SENIOR LECTURER IN MODERN ECONOMIC HISTORY IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

“ . . . le cadet d'un pair du royaume ne dédaigne point le négoce. Milord Townshend, ministre d'État, a un frère qui se content d'être marchand dans la Cité. Dans le temps que milord Orford gouvernait l'Angleterre, son cadet était facteur à Alep, d'où il ne voulut pas revenir et où il est mort.”

(Voltaire : *Lettres anglaises*, X.)

THERE was a growing realisation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that life on a country estate bred in the minds of the aristocracy and gentry a narrow and provincial outlook. Richard Lassels, in the preface to his *Voyage of Italy* (1670), exposed to ridicule “the Country Lord that never saw anybody but his Father's Tenants and M. Parson, and never read anything but John Stow, and Speed ; thinks the Lands-end to be the World's end ; and that all solid greatness, next unto a great Pasty, consists in a great Fire, and a great estate”. It was felt in polite circles that even the excellent training afforded by the ancient English universities did little to banish the awkward manners of the country seat. Lord Chesterfield despised the influence of Cambridge, where he had acquired “among the pedants of an illiberal seminary a turn for satire and contempt, and a strong tendency to argumentation and contradiction”, but little social poise, with the result that, when he was first introduced into good company, he appeared flurried and frightened out of his wits.

It was in order to rectify the defects of a completely English upbringing and education that the Grand Tour was devised. The idea of polishing one's parts by foreign travel was of long standing, but after the Restoration, when Italy and Germany were again open to travellers, the round of sights in Holland,

Germany, Italy and France became an indispensable part of the education of the young lord and squire. By the early eighteenth century the travelling English milord had become a familiar sight to the people of France and Italy. He was to be seen driving by post chaise through the principal towns of Europe and stopping from time to time to add to the collection of paintings and statues with which he proposed to embellish the walls of his country seat in England. Cowper satirised the Grand Tour as it appeared to him in its later days in the following lines :

“ From school to Cam or Isis, and thence home :
And thence with all convenient speed to Rome,
With reverend tutor clad in habit lay,
To tease for cash and quarrel with all day :
With memorandum book for every town,
And every post, and where the chaise broke down.”

It is often not appreciated by the historian that an alternative method of broadening the mind by foreign travel lay at the disposal of the eighteenth-century English country gentleman. For a long time it has been a commonplace when writing of English political development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to mention the essential connexion between the squirearchy, the Church and trade which has resulted from the general process whereby the younger sons of the gentry were put to careers in commerce or the Church. It has been more difficult, however, to point out actual examples of younger sons being apprenticed to merchants, but letters preserved in the Egerton MSS. and kindly placed at the disposal of the History School of Manchester University by Lord Egerton of Tatton provide two excellent examples of the process in operation, and incidentally demonstrate that well-born Englishmen could receive through their commercial activities all the educational benefits which foreign travel could afford.¹

The death of John Egerton of Tatton Park, near Knutsford in Cheshire, in 1724 left his wife Elizabeth in charge of the education and upbringing of his children. Among them there were John, the eldest son and heir, born in 1710, Samuel, born in 1711, and Thomas.

¹ For the general subject of the Grand Tour see Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (1913), Chapters VI and VII.

John received his early education at Sandbach Grammar School, and on 10th January, 1727/8 was admitted pensioner at Magdalene College, Cambridge. He matriculated in 1728, but there is no record of his subsequent graduation.¹ Mrs. Egerton, who was a deeply religious woman and somewhat apprehensive of the moral climate of the undergraduate world at Cambridge, wrote to her "dear Jack" in August, 1728 :—

"I believe Sturbridge fair is drawing near and I fear all the silly students will loose their time and innocence there. That you may be out of danger there I beg of you to get your Tutor to go along with you, for indeed, my Dear, there is vast danger in going into temptation or else our Blessed Saviour would never have taught us to pray against it."²

She also had a lively intellectual curiosity, for in the same letter, she displayed an active interest in the boy's philosophical studies :—

"You spoke to me some time agoe of giving me an account of what observations you made in reading Mr. Lock[e]. If you entertain me with it, it will be pleasing to me and I hope improving to yourself, but then you must write close and upon a whole sheet of paper."³

John Egerton seems to have paid little heed to this well-meant maternal advice, for one of her letters to him early in the following year contained the following rebuke :—

"Your promises aided by my strong affections prove powerful enough to make me give in to what you desire, even to forget past miscarriages, if you'll be serious and make the best use of your time you possibly can for the future and study as much as in you lies to retrieve the precious time you have unhappily lost. In order to that you must drop all the idle part of your acquaintance and they'll not care to trouble you if they find you intent upon a book. Don't make much of yourself in a bad way. No philosopher at Cambridge will find occasion for more than four score pound a year."⁴

Mrs. Egerton had meanwhile consulted her brother Samuel Hill (*né* Barbour) of Shenstone Park, Staffs, then on a Continental tour, on the advisability of removing him from Cambridge

¹ J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I, Vol. II, p. 91.

² Sturbridge Fair was held annually in August and September. Daniel Defoe's classic account of it was first published in 1724-1726 (see *A Tour through England and Wales*, Vol. I, pp. 80-85, Everyman edition, ed. G. D. H. Cole).

³ This economical note is struck again in the same letter : "I'll send your shirts the way you desire and keep your old ones till [you] come home and they shal be mended if fit for it."

⁴ Mrs. Elizabeth Egerton to John Egerton, letter undated, but postmarked 25th March [1729].

and sending him abroad to make the Grand Tour under the eyes of his uncle. Samuel Hill was emphatically not in favour of the Grand Tour for John :—

“ He can't make the proper improvement which is to be made in travelling by persons whose minds are already furnish'd and stock't with principles of knowledge and good sense. I have instances now here more than one of the folly of sending out boys who only expose themselves and their country without getting any good. . . . I don't say Jack will make the best use of his time there (i.e. at Cambridge) ; but I hope at least he'll make some use of it. However it's our concern that he should have nobody to blame but his own idleness if he is not a scholar and not give him room to say hereafter that if he had not been remov'd too soon from Cambridge he might have done better.”¹

This weighty opinion was decisive. John came down from Cambridge in the course of 1730,² and entered into possession of his estate at Tatton Park on his coming-of-age in 1731. He married Christian, daughter of John Ward, in 1735, and died in 1738, leaving no male heir to succeed to the family inheritance, which passed to his younger brother Samuel.

Samuel Egerton was born in 1711. Nothing is known of his early education, but in August, 1728, Elizabeth Egerton told her eldest son :—

“ I have had a letter from your Uncle [Samuel] Hill from Rome wherein he tells me . . . that he has wrote to a friend in . . . London to find out a master to put your brother Sam apprentice amongst the merchants.”

In the first half of 1729 Samuel was in the care of a Mr. Thomas Haselden, with whom he agreed “ very well”, but it is not clear whether Haselden was a merchant or a tutor. Thomas Haselden wrote a letter to Samuel Egerton in Venice from London on 12th May, 1730, “ per the *Ruby*”, but only the cover has been preserved. Samuel Hill, however, had changed his plans :—

“ My uncle told me as soon as he got to Leghorn he would try and fix me with a merchant, and if he could he would send for me over while he was there.”³

Eventually Samuel was bound apprentice in 1729 to the famous Joseph Smith (c. 1676-1770), an English merchant long

¹ Copy letter on reverse of letter referred to in previous footnote.

² Samuel Egerton, Venice, to Samuel Hill, 15th December, 1730.

³ Samuel Egerton to John Egerton, Magdalene College, Cambridge, Jan.-June (?) 1729.

resident in Venice, and arrived there in June or July.¹ Joseph Smith, who had obtained a post in the British Consulate and was appointed British Consul in Venice in 1744,² handled purchases and shipments of paintings and *objets d'art* on behalf of Samuel Hill, who seems to have been a lavish buyer, if we may judge by the following letter :—

To Samuel Hill from Joseph Smith.

Venice, 26 November 1729.

Dear Sir,

This is the second letter I write to Paris and one by your order went to Dijon from whence I hope you'll have found a way to get it.

This serves to acquaint you that Capt. Richard Leng in the *Romansgate* sail'd from hence on the 22 inst bound for Zant, and Amsterdam, butt has my orders to stop in the Hope and from thence to send up to London to my brother some goods I've put on board him and among the rest, 12 Parcells belonging to you, containing as follows :

SH No. 1. 2 large peices of Alvize dal Frise³

2 Cartoons Cignani

2 Copys from Bologna

2. All your other pictures, including the 3 pieces bought of Guarienti for 130 chequeens.⁴

3. 2 Peices rec'd a fortnight ago from *Magnoni of Bologna*.

4. 6 Peices of Piazzetta } with frames and

1 Rosalba [Carriera] } glasses.

5. Sundry designs, Peices on Copper and 5 paintings of lesser moment, etc.

¹ Joseph Smith had a brother in London named John Smith, also a merchant. The two formed a financial link between London and Venice, e.g. Thomas Hill (*né* Harwood), London, to Samuel Hill, c/o Joseph Smith, Venice, 25th July, 1729: "Mr. John Smith called upon us this morning with the bill you advise to have drawn on me for £100, which I adrest to Messrs. Child for payment, and if you draw on me for the consideration money to be payed with your nephew I will immediately discharge the same." See also *Walpole Society*, Vol. IX (1920-1921), pp. 24-25; *Dictionary of National Biography* (Smith); *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 186 (1944), pp. 72, 120, 154-6, 207, 225-6; and K. T. Parker, *The drawings of Antonio Canaletto in the collection of H.M. the King at Windsor Castle* (1948), pp. 9-20, 59-61.

² Not 1740, as usually given (see Joseph Smith, Venice, to the Duke of Newcastle, Whitehall, 5th and 19th June, 1744, Public Record Office, State Papers Foreign, Venice (S.P. 99), Vol. 64).

The writer is indebted to Mr. Francis J. B. Watson of the Wallace Collection, London, and Miss Ornella Osti for this information.

³ Alvise dal Friso, better known as Luigi Benfatto (1559-1611).

⁴ Sequin, an Italian gold coin worth about 10s. 6d.

6. Holy family by Tizian or Polidore.

7. Peice of old Roman Painting a fresco.

8. Books and Prints.

9, 10, 11. 6 Marble Tables.

12. 2 peices Marco Ricci.

As I am uncertain where to meet you, I don't send you a more minute account, nor of my disbursements, but if I find you stay the winter at Paris, I shall send itt you in answer, which will be time enough for you to give my Brother such directions as you may think Propper, for I don't think the Ship will gett to the Hope till towards the end of February. I have told him in the meantime what each case contains, and that he'll receive further instructions from you. Everything is pack'd up with the nicest care, and as the Capt. hath a particular charge a-stowing them in the ship, I hope all will be landed in England in the same good order.

I have paid Magnoni of Bologna £361-6 for ballance of your acct, of which he sends me particulars and I find he charges you £229 of Bologna for the 2 copys he now sends me and £12.16 for their package.

Tomorrow we are invited "*per la prima volta*", (after 2 adjournments) to St. Gio Xtome, where the two chief performers are Cuzzoni and Farinelli, but the latter begins only with the second opera on St. Stephen's day. We are expecting several Gentlemen, Sr. Wm. Morice is among them, who, I suppose you have heard, hath bought all [Mc]Swiny's monumental peices, and was a fortunate hitt for him.

Mr. Boteler still detained at Leghorne, awaiting . . ." (*rest of letter missing*).

The precise character of Samuel Egerton's duties as an apprentice are nowhere defined. For two months in the summer of 1730 he was out of Venice at Smith's 'new-mended' country house at Mogliano, and took part in the social life of the English colony in the region.¹ His brother Thomas Egerton sent him news from Rotterdam of acquaintances who had known Samuel in Venice, in particular of Owen McSwiny, the bankrupt manager of the Drury Lane and Haymarket theatres, who had lived with Joseph Smith in Venice for some time and was one of the earliest English patrons of Canaletto. McSwiny was, in the spring of 1733, "still in Leyden. 'Tis said that he is

¹ Samuel Egerton, Venice, to Samuel Hill, 21st July and 15th December, 1730. On 30th June, 1733, George Gordon wrote to Samuel Egerton, Venice: "I'm hopeful your Lady continues to carry herself lively. . . ."

writing a comedy or an opera".¹ Samuel took an active interest in his uncle's art purchases. On 17th July, 1730, Smith had written to Samuel Hill:—

To Samuel Hill, Shenstone Park, near Litchfield, Staffs.

Moggiano (*sic*), 17 July 1730.

Dear Sir,

Your letters ever give me a most sensible pleasure butt the last I'me favour'd with dated 11 of June, affords me a double satisfaction, bringing with itt the news of a good sister's recovery from a sickness, which I'me sure must have given you many inquieting apprehensions. I immediately imparted itt to her son who, to be sure will express himself in a dutyfull manner on so agreeable an occasion and congratulate both her and yourself upon itt.

I expected to hear in what condition your things by the *Ramsgate* were receiv'd. A merchant has ways to defend himself against accidents by carriage happening to his adventures and losses this way may be retrieved, butt such disappointments where Virtue² is risqued are irreparable; the first danger I was therefore glad to hear was over with the ship's arrivall. The next good news will be to know every part of the Cargoe came out well condition'd, and that there needs only the help of Guarienti or some such skilfull operator to dispose all in prop^r. places, and give you the delight when you view 'em to re-enjoy that which each particular aquisition was attended with; this I wish you and every other more solid comfort of life.

Butt I am sorry you did not add to your collection some good things which I'me informed were at M. Carnedi's auction, and which went so very cheap, possibly they were bought with a design to resell; in such a case you may safely allow a handsome gain to the purchaser and yet make a very good bargain; and now I am on this subject, I must tell you, after many letters exchanged with the painter att Mantua (I don't now call to mind his name) and att last a promise obtain'd from the owner of the 4 Peices in *chiar oscuro* said to be of Julio Romano, to send over one of 'em att my expence coming and returning, if I did not like itt; he has chang'd his mind, and now is resolved, whoever has a mind to 'em, must view and treat for 'em where they are, or not at all. So that affair is over, for I can't do that for you which I never practice for myself.—Trusting to others. Instead of which I wish I had double the sight and ten times the judgement I'me master of to employ both to serve you as I desire; I would make you possessor of some fine things which might afford a true and lasting pleasure to one of your elegant taste and make you remember me under that character I cheifly vullue myself upon; the honouring you as a friend and being just to the confidence you are pleas'd to place in me. The sett of Crozat's prints which you have subscrib'd for will be sent to me, and I shall forward it to you.

Tell me how you like the plan of Venice. I take it to be a compleat performance both in the exactness with which every the smallest street and canal is laid down, as well as the engraving. The author will not sell'em for less then

¹ Thomas Egerton, 19th March, 1732/3, to Samuel Egerton. For McSwiny see *Walpole Society*, Vol. IX (1920-1921), pp. 22-25.

² I.e. objects of *virtù*.

2 chequeens, a price none butt strangers think the work deserves and indeed 'tis just so with everything else of worth which Italy now produces. At last I've got Canal[etto]¹ under articles to finish your 2 peices within a twelvemonth; he's so much follow'd and all are so ready to pay him his own price for his work (and which he vallues himself as much as anybody) that he would be thought in this to have much obliged me, nor is it the first time I have been glad to submit to a painter's impertinence to serve myself and friends, for besides that resentment is lost upon them, a rupture with such as are excellent in their profession resolves 'em either not to work for you at all, or which is worse, one gets from them only slight and labour'd productions, and so our taste and generosity is censured—tho' both unjustly.

This is the third month I'me engag'd in giving this house a thorough repair. An allowance from the landlord of (? chequeens) 400 and a liking to the place hath hook'd me in to spend near three times the summ; butt then there's an additionall motive in the case. The place and ground about itt is mortgag'd to me and I have reason to think the proprier will never redeem it.

The prints of the views and pictures of Venice will now soon be finish'd. I've told you there is only a limited number to be drawn off, so if you want any for friends, speak in time. A dissertation will shortly be published on the medagioni of Pisani and in a size to bind up with the work. I shall send you a copy and the fine Ariosto when it comes out.

Being here surrounded with leisure makes me forgett I am pressing too much on your time; but I shall consider your case, and detain you no longer then to subscribe myself

Dr. Sir,

Your most obed. hum. servt,
JOS. SMITH.

A few months later Samuel Egerton was able to report to his uncle that Smith "had att last prevailed with Canall[etto] to lay aside all other business till he had finished the 2 pictures you order'd when you was last here, and they'll now come home in about 15 days more; So I believe they'll be sent by the first ship that goes from hence to London, which will be about the beginning of February".²

Let us now turn to trace the fortunes of the third son. Thomas Egerton seems to have been younger than Samuel. For some time he attended Stockport Free (later Grammar) School,

¹ (1697-1768). Samuel Hill was therefore an early English patron of this famous artist, who later resided in England, with intervals, between 1746 and 1755.

² Samuel Egerton, Venice, to Samuel Hill, 15th December, 1730. Smith's influence over Canaletto increased in the next few years. In 1736 the Swedish Count Tessin described the painter as "étant engagé pour 4 ans à ne travailler que pour un marchand anglais nommé Smitt". (*Walpole Society*, Vol. X (1921-1922), p. 78).

whence he wrote to his mother on 22nd January, 1730/1 :—

" I . . . must confess that I am so far scrupulous of my scholarship that I fear I shall never go through all the sciences necessary to qualify me for a clergyman so as to make a good figure in that station : therefore with my Uncle's and your approbation I should choose to be a merchant or any other calling you shall think proper for me. I assure you I've got the least fear of going abroad. . . ."
If you determine me for a trade I'll use the greatest care and diligence in learning ac(c)ounts that I'm master of, the sooner I begin with them the better. I can't find any great benefit I shall have at School. Mr. Dale ¹ being resolved immediately to make us get by heart that foolish play. I shall only begg you'll give this a kind reception from

Honour'd Madam,

Your most obedient and dutifull son

Thos. Egerton " ²

It is a matter of some significance that not only Thomas but John, the eldest son of the family, received his early education at a local grammar school. The age had not yet dawned when the country gentry considered themselves bound by a strong social tradition to send their sons to an exclusive inner circle of major Public Schools. The squire-to-be still sat side by side with the sons of the local tradesmen and yeomen to receive the thorough grounding in classical learning which formed the basis of education in eighteenth-century England.

Mrs. Egerton had more confidence in her son's abilities than he himself possessed,³ and desired " to have him a scholar ", but, guided by the " more rational advice " of Samuel Hill, she decided to give in to his request and to allow him to be trained for a career in commerce. She wrote to her brother, Hill :—

" . . . Tomorrow I send for him from Stockport, and the Clerk of Rosthern shall teach him merchants accounts which will be much cheaper than to have him learn them in London and he is allowed to understand Vulgar Arithmetick and Algebra exceeding well. I beg you'll please to let me know what the expense will be of putting Tom apprentice that I may prepare for it. . . . " ⁴

¹ The Rev. Joseph Dale, B.A., Headmaster of Stockport Free School from 1703 to 1750 (H. Higinbotham, *Stockport : Ancient and Modern*, Vol. II, p. 379).

² Thos. Egerton to Mrs. Elizabeth Egerton, 22nd January, 1730/1.

³ She wrote to Sam. Hill : " Indeed his memory is better than we thought, for in Xmas he acted a long part in a play at Morberley (Mrs. Wright desired he might be one with her daughters and some others). He performed much the best, and had the least time to get his part, so 'tis plain to me that he had care or genius as you discerned, though the others deceived me." Elizabeth Egerton to Sam. Hill, probably January, 1730/1.

⁴ Elizabeth Egerton to Sam. Hill, probably January, 1730/1.

Nothing is known of the progress made by Thomas under the Clerk of Rostherne, but in the early summer of 1731 he arrived in the Low Countries. Before leaving England he had spent five days in London at "Cozen Tom Hill's at Cleveland Court by St. James". His impressions of the capital were favourable, but tinged by a strong preference for the countryside in summer. There followed "a long and dangerous voyage of 6 days" which terminated at Rotterdam, whence he proceeded *via* Amsterdam to Warmond, a country village two miles from Leyden (June, 1731).¹ The young Cheshire gentleman rapidly developed an affection for his new surroundings. "I meet with tolerable good usage here", he wrote to his brother Sam in Venice, "the country and diet agrees very well with me so that I find it very pleasant here. . . . The country has most sorts of fruit in as great plenty and perfection as anywhere I've been in England, and I must say I think it is pleasant."²

Entrance upon an apprenticeship in "a convenient counting house" was delayed until April 1732, Samuel Hill being determined³ that it should be preceded by some months spent in the acquisition of the necessary foreign languages. Thomas Egerton therefore attended a French school at Warmond kept by a Dutchman:—

"I am now like a fish out of water, having little but French and Dutch, both which I am as yet quite ignorant of, yet by close application don't fear soon to talk 'em so well as to go about business which I now long to be in."⁴

The difficulties were, however, more considerable than he imagined:—

"I believe I shall not stay here long by reason there are no less than six or seven Englishmen here which I find a great disadvantage to my learning Dutch and French, the last of which I have not yet begun. . . ."⁵

¹ Thomas Egerton, Warmond, to Samuel Egerton, 13th June, 1731 (N.S.).

² Thomas Egerton, Warmond, to Samuel Egerton, 7th August, 1731 (N.S.).

³ ". . . my uncle . . . would never give me any positive reason for the change he thought good to make with my life, only that if I could like it, he said it would be much better for me, so would not be easy till he had my mother's and grandmother's consent, which with much difficulty he at last obtained". (Thomas Egerton, Warmond, to Samuel Egerton, 7th August, 1731 (N.S.)).

⁴ Thomas Egerton, Warmond, to Samuel Egerton, 13th June, 1731 (N.S.).

⁵ Thomas Egerton, Warmond, to Samuel Egerton, 7th August, 1731 (N.S.).

Once he had begun to feel less like a fish out of water Thomas developed a surprising degree of initiative. By March, 1732, he was "fixed to my friends and own satisfaction" with a firm of linen-merchants in Rotterdam. He continued :—

"My coming into Holland in order to learn the way of trading was . . . wholly by my uncle's choice and direction, but whether he'll approve of our sort, which is chiefly factorage, I can't tell, having not yet had the honour to hear from him since I came to Rotterdam, tho' I have wrote often to him. I have desired Mr. Fizeaux the merchant at Amsterdam to whose care I am committed not to sign my indentures without my uncle's sight and approbation."¹

Fortunately a copy of Thomas Egerton's articles of indenture has been preserved, and on account of its interest is given below in full :—

"The Articles agreed upon and issued the 22nd Day of April 1732 between John Cossart and Son and Bower,² Merchants in Rotterdam, and the Widow Jean Fizeau and son, Merchants in Amsterdam, are as followeth viz :

1st. That Thos Egerton during the term of 5 years beginning on the 1st of December a[nno] 1731 and ending the last day of November a[nn]o 1736 shall faithfully undertake to do all such business relating to the Counting House as shall be appointed him by John Cossart and Son and Bower his masters, or others commissioned by them his masters, and be obliged not to impart or declare it to any person whatever.

2nd. That the afores[ai]d T. Egerton shall have meat, drink, and lodging at his master's house, but neither washing nor darning which he shall order out of the house at his own expense.

3rd. That the afores[ai]d J. Fizeaux and Co. to pay to J. Cossart & Co., at Rotterdam either at once the sum 2750 Guilders Dutch current money, or yearly the sum of 550 Guilders for meat, drink, lodging and instruction in business for the said Thomas Egerton and if the above ment[ione]d Thos. Egerton happens to leave his masters before the afores[ai]d 5 years are expired, either on account of misbehaviour or otherwise that the afores[ai]d sum of 2750 Guilders in full, shall be p[ai]d to his afores[ai]d masters as tho. he had duly served them.

¹ Thomas Egerton, Rotterdam, to Samuel Egerton, 4th March, 1731/2. Thomas also began to display curiosity as to his brother's business methods : "I shou'd be glad to know whether you trade by commission, tho' I'm afraid 'tis at present very dull any way with you, as well as here or in England" (*ibid.*) ; he also indicated that Joseph Smith had Dutch connexions : "In case you favour me with any orders requiring a remittance it might, I shou'd think, be easily made by you paying Mr. Smith the value and sending me his bill upon Mr. Wilkinson or any of his correspondents in this country. . . . I desire you'll be particular in your orders as to the price and quantity of linen. . . ."

² Mme. Cossart, "my master's mother and stepmother", who died early in 1733, was a partner in the business (Thomas Egerton, Rotterdam, to Samuel Egerton, 19th March, 1732/3).

4. That the afore[sai]d J. Fizeaux and Co., do bind and oblige themselves to make good to the afores[ai]d J. Cossart and Co., all the losses amounting to the sum of 5000 Guilders c[urren]t proceeding from the afores[ai]d T. Egerton either by carelessness in the keeping of the cash or any other way.

5. Lastly that the afores[ai]d T. Egerton during the above mention'd 5 years shall not do any business for himself or enter into comp[any] either directly or indirectly without the especial cons[en]t of the afores[ai]d J. Cossart and Son and Bower his masters—all which above mention'd articles are sign'd in the presence of Theodorus Leonardus Van der Briel and Jacob Trout at Amsterdam the 22nd of April 1732."

There were four persons in the Rotterdam counting house besides Thomas Egerton, namely, a book-keeper from French Switzerland, an Irishman, a German, and a Frenchman. A larger staff was employed at Amsterdam, and by June, 1732, trade was temporarily improving, "tho' these hard times will scarce employ us all". The necessities of life in the Netherlands, with the natural exception of linen, were "vastly dear".¹

Amongst her motherly advice to Thomas, Mrs. Egerton had enjoined him "in a very particular manner to keep a close correspondence" with Samuel in Venice, and six of the letters covering the period 1731 to April 1733, which the young apprentice wrote in pursuance of this advice, have been preserved. Besides relaying current Cheshire and family gossip to Italy, Thomas Egerton gave glimpses of the comings and goings of the great—the departure from The Hague of the British Ambassador to the Netherlands, Lord Chesterfield (4th March, 1731/2), and speculation as to his successor. In June, 1732, he wrote:—

"The only talk here is of our King visiting his German dominions, as 'tis believed he'll come in our River as far as this place. Their High Mightinesses the States have sent a company of Guards to attend on him, also given orders for the yatches (*sic*) to meet him, also fire our great guns, and show him all the respect due to the dignity of His Majesty."²

¹ Thomas Egerton, Rotterdam, to Samuel Egerton, 11th June, 1732, which has a P.S.: "As to what you have heard of all sorts of English books being to [be] bought cheaper here than in England, is a mistake, yet for your further satisfaction I have inclosed a catalogue of those books printed here, which I'll allow to be cheaper, but consider you'll find many mistakes in the press, being not used to the language." In February, 1732/3 Samuel shipped to his brother from Venice two small jars of Cyprus wine and some figs "by the *Montrose*, Capt. John Carmichael, bound for Amsterdam", and in return Thomas sent a number of books, including "16 small volumes, containing 64 plays, bound in vellum" (Thomas Egerton, Rotterdam, to Samuel Egerton, 19th March, 1732/3).

² Thomas Egerton, to Samuel Egerton, 11th June, 1732.

During the winter of 1732-1733 matters which affected every-day life more deeply are noticed. Although the weather in Venice was mild and favourable, enabling Samuel to enjoy "much diversion" at the carnivals, in the land of "mists or fogs", it was at first "exceeding cold"¹ :—

"and in short likely to be very dull, their High Mightinesses having thought proper to order a cessation of public plays, assemblies and all other diversions both at the Hague and Amsterdam, which are the *Londons* of this province, on account of the worms eating the posts and sluices which are as so many props to a great part of this land and Zeeland. They cannot come here, there being no saltwater".²

At Tatton Park the family were awaiting the arrival from Italy of Samuel Egerton's "picture drawn in full length", but Thomas, with a merchant's caution, wrote :—

"I should be glad to know if you please what it cost, because Grandma seems desirous to have mine there after the same manner, and ordered me to enquire after a good painter here and his prices. I have been recommended to use Van Dyk,³ whose price is 20 guineas full length and 12 if drawn to the middle which I think is extravagantly dear, therefore shall endeavour to dissuade her from thinking of having it done."⁴

We do not know when Thomas Egerton left the Netherlands, but letters he wrote to John Egerton on 19th January, 1737/8, and to Samuel Egerton on 18th September, 1744, show that he was then resident in Dublin.

Certain other letters written to Samuel Egerton at Venice reveal connexions with the Levant. On 30th June, 1733, his friend George Gordon, being about to set out for Scandaroon (Alexandretta), wrote to him from Larnaca in Cyprus :—

"We arrived here in 29 days from Venice (being forced to put into Fosana in Dalmatia and Modon in the Morea), where [we] found to our great satisfaction the island in perfect good health, tho' at Aleppo the plague has some months past been exceeding violent, yet now much abated. Yet the Swedes are afraid

¹ Later the Dutch winter became milder, "tho' very severe to the constitution of the inhabitants, great numbers having died of that distemper so epidemical . . . particularly here, and by reason of the great fogs". (Thomas Egerton, Rotterdam, to Samuel Egerton, 19th March, 1732/3).

² Thomas Egerton, Rotterdam, to Samuel Egerton, 28th November, 1732. He added that this, "the common report of the case", was "aggravated".

³ Philip Van Dyck (1683-1753), a fashionable portraitist at The Hague.

⁴ *Ibid.* Samuel's portrait had apparently not arrived by June, 1733. (John Egerton, Tatton, to Samuel Egerton, 30th June, 1733.)

to go for Aleppo, but want first opportunity to embark for Jaffa, in order to proceed for Jerusalem."

Another letter, written to Samuel by Thomas Holmes on 1st January, 1733/4, from the port of Zante off the Morea, was conveyed to Venice by Captain Savage of the *London*. It announces a safe arrival from Venice in 10 days and contains a request for the purchase of a copy of *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, compendiato in Venezia, 1724, in 4to, 2 tom.* Holmes also wished to present his humble service to Joseph Smith "for his civilities to me at Venice".

In one of his letters from Venice Samuel had referred to the "viciousness of the place and the decay of trade", an expression of opinion which disturbed his mother and was displeasing to his uncle Samuel Hill, especially as it coincided with another which revealed to his mother that Samuel had been seriously ill there, news which the family had tried unsuccessfully to keep from her. John rebuked him (30th June, 1733):—

"Let me therefore beg the favour of you not to send her any more such accounts which will only make her uneasy, and be of no service to yourself. If the merchants there are vain and negligent, it may in all probability (if God spare your health) by your industry reap the advantages of their neglect."

The same letter contains an interesting if not very profound, comment on that "ignorant impatience of taxation" aroused among the country gentlemen of England by Sir Robert Walpole's excise scheme:—

"'Down with the Excise', is the general cry through[ou]t, and as the Court has given the country so good an opportunity of showing themselves, we in Cheshire have agreed to set up Mr. [Charles] Cholmondeley of Vale Royal and Mr. [John] Crewe junr., to be our representatives in the ensuing Parliament. We have been a month last past in making what interest we can for them. . . ." ¹

Samuel Egerton is known to have been in Venice until at least the spring of 1734, but no further material is available which throws light on his life between that date and his succession to the family estates in 1738.

¹ These gentlemen were returned unopposed to the Parliament of 1735-1741 as the knights of the shire for Cheshire (G. Ormerod, *Hist. Ches.*, ed. Helsby, Vol. I, p. 81; *Local Gleanings . . . relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. I (1879-1880), p. 418).

THE SON OF MAN IN DANIEL, ENOCH AND THE GOSPELS.¹

By T. W. MANSON, D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A.

RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND EXEGESIS IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

EIGHTEEN years ago, in the course of an exposition of the leading ideas of the Synoptic Gospels, I devoted some pages to a discussion of the term Son of Man.² In taking up the subject again let me say at the outset that further reflection on the available evidence and consideration of the publications of other workers in this field have convinced me that the conclusions which I reached eighteen years ago are in general correct, though capable of considerable amendment in detail. I think that the time is ripe for a reconsideration of the problem and a restatement of my solution of it. The problem is the meaning of the term Son of Man in the sayings attributed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels: is it possible to find a meaning for the term which will (a) make sense in the passages of the Synoptic Gospels in which it occurs; (b) show a reasonable connexion with the use of Son of Man in the Old Testament and other pre-Christian Jewish documents; and (c) explain the later developments of Christian thought as we find them in St. Paul and St. John?

I do not propose to spend any time on the discussion of the question whether *bar 'ēnāsh* is a possible expression in Aramaic in the days of Jesus. We have the fact that it was used in the book of Daniel in the second century B.C., and the fact that *barnāsh* is in use in Christian Palestinian Aramaic; and in between the two we have in the Synoptic tradition the Greek expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, which as Greek is as near meaningless as makes no matter, but which explains itself linguistically the moment we think of it as a literal rendering of an Aramaic original. In this context the presence of the

¹ An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 9th of November, 1949.

² *The Teaching of Jesus* (1931), 311-336.

term Son of Man in the Synoptics strikes me as excellent evidence that the term could be used in the first half of the first century A.D., that it was in fact used, and that it conveyed some meaning to those who heard it used.

That brings us to the really important question : what did the phrase mean ? If we start from the Hebrew equivalent, *ben 'ādām*, we can readily get the plain and literal meaning : 'a member of the human race', 'an individual human being'.¹ This is clearly the meaning in any number of passages in the Old Testament. It is the meaning in the book of Ezekiel, where the prophet is addressed as *ben 'ādām* eighty-seven times ; and what is emphasised by this mode of address is the contrast between the prophet as a man—one might almost say a mere man—and the God whose messages he receives.

The attempt has been made—most recently and most persuasively by Dr. Curtis²—to find the clue to the meaning of Son of Man in the Gospels in the use of *ben 'ādām* in Ezekiel. In his discussion of this self-designation of Jesus Dr. Curtis makes the important point that 'Jesus utters no such prohibition against its open use as He sternly directs against the divulging of His messiahship. If "the Son of Man" was a not unfamiliar name for the Christ in popular expectancy, drawn from current apocalyptic, then His repeated use of it was utterly inconsistent with His attitude towards the latter title.'³ This argument seems to be valid against all who hold that 'Son of Man' = 'Messiah' and that Jesus concealed His messiahship, *unless* they are prepared to take the further step of maintaining that up to the end Jesus used the term Son of Man only in speaking to those who were already in the Messianic secret. For the positive content of the term Dr. Curtis appeals to Ezekiel rather than Enoch, because 'we have no evidence either that He knew and valued the Enoch vision or that His hearers knew and were moved by it.'⁴ In Ezekiel what is stressed is the essential humanity of the 'Son of Man'; and in the teaching

¹ Cf. L. Köhler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 133, where other examples of *ben* with collectives are given.

² *Jesus Christ the Teacher* (1943), 127-143.

³ *Op. cit.*, 135.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 142.

of Jesus the 'Son of Man' becomes the true representative of humanity, *the Man par excellence*, what Luther calls 'the Proper Man'. This Proper Man knows that his task is defined in the description of the Servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah. So Jesus in combining Isaiah's Servant with Ezekiel's Son of Man produced not a Messianic title but a name perfectly adapted to his own purposes.

Attractive as this explanation is in many ways, I do not think it can be adopted. There are indeed two or three places in the words of Jesus where it is possible to see a reference to the book of Ezekiel; but only one of them (Luke xix. 10) is directly concerned with the Son of Man, and in that case the corresponding passage in Ezekiel (xxxiv. 15 f.) speaks not of the activities of the Son of Man-prophet, but of the work of God himself. Moreover we are bound, I think, by the fact that the one explicit reference by Jesus to the Old Testament in a Son of Man saying is a reference to the Son of Man in Dan. vii. 13.¹ We should therefore begin the study of the term Son of Man in the Gospels by a consideration of its meaning in the one Old Testament passage to which we have an explicit reference, Dan. vii.

In this passage the meaning is not in doubt. The seer explains that he had a night-vision in which four great beasts came up out of the sea. The first three have a certain resemblance to real animals, lion, bear, leopard; but the fourth is apparently so monstrous that there is nothing with which it can be compared. These four beasts are generally recognised to be symbolic figures representing the great powers that had dominated the Near East down to the time of the composition of the book of Daniel (c. 165 B.C.). After the first three have run their course, and while the fourth is still at work establishing new records in arrogance and brutality, the scene suddenly changes.

¹ Lk. xix. 10. ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός.

Ez. xxxiv. 15 f. τὰδε λέγει κύριος κύριος τὸ ἀπολωλός ζητήσω κτλ.

Mk. xiv. 62. ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Dan. vii. 13. (θ') ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος ἦν.

Thrones are set up and the Ancient of Days takes his seat with all the accompaniments of supernatural power and glory. The records are opened and the judgment begins. It is the day of the Lord of which the prophets had spoken. After sentence has been passed on the great powers represented by the beasts, a new figure appears. He is described in terms similar to those used in describing the first three beasts. Of them it was said that one *resembled* a lion, another a bear, and the third a leopard: of the new figure it is said that he *resembles* a human being. This means, I take it, that we are meant to regard this figure as a symbol; and we must ask what the symbol represents. Daniel himself will furnish the answer in due course. Meanwhile we learn that this man-like figure arrives 'with the clouds of heaven'. What this expression means is clear from *Enoch* xiv. 8. The clouds are a means of transportation *from earth to heaven*.¹ The Danielic Son of Man is not a member of the heavenly court: he appears before it. So Daniel's narrative goes on to tell how this Son of Man makes his way towards the Ancient of Days and is ushered into the presence. The decision of the court is in his favour and he receives 'dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed' (vii. 14). It cannot be too strongly emphasised that what Daniel portrays is not a divine, semi-divine, or angelic figure coming down from heaven, to bring deliverance, but a human figure going up to heaven to receive it. It must be equally emphasised that this figure is a symbol as the preceding monsters were. What the symbol stands for is made crystal clear in verses 18 and 27 of this same chapter, where we are told that 'the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever'; and again, 'The kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High: his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions

¹ Cf. T. F. Glasson, *The Second Advent*, 14 ff.; J. Munck, *La Vocation de l'Apôtre Paul*, *Studia Theologica*, I, 1-2 (1947), 141 ff.

shall serve and obey him'. Just as the beasts stood for the pagan empires, so the Son of Man stands for Israel or for the godly Remnant within Israel. In that case Son of Man in this period is a new name for what in earlier times was called the 'Remnant' or the 'Servant of Yahweh', and later, as a result of the ministry of Jesus, appears as the Church or the 'Body of Christ' or the 'Bride of Christ' or the 'New Israel', to name only a few of the designations given a body of persons united by a common loyalty and obligation to God.

But while it would be widely admitted that Son of Man in Daniel is a symbol for a community, it is claimed that it very soon became a personal title appropriated to the expected Messiah, and in particular to a pre-existent heavenly Messiah.¹ The evidence for this comes in the main from two sources. First, it is held that in the *Similitudes of Enoch* Son of Man is a Messianic title: I shall deal with the *Enoch* material in detail presently. Secondly, some Rabbinic passages are adduced in which Dan. vii. 13 is taken as a Messianic prophecy. But the earliest of these² is attributed to R. Alexandrai (c. 270), and so belongs to a period when the Messianic hope had ceased to be a matter of daily practical politics, and had become much more of a topic for academic theological speculation. There seems to be no evidence that in Rabbinical circles Son of Man was used as a name for the Messiah. The only possible case of this kind is in a statement attributed to R. Abbahu (c. 300), which is obviously a piece of anti-Christian polemic.³ A third piece of evidence for Jewish Messianic interpretation of Dan. vii. is Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, § 32. In § 31 Justin has quoted Dan. vii. 9-28 at length as a proof that the Old Testament foretells the Second Coming of Christ. When the quotation is ended, Trypho says: 'Sir, these scripture texts and others of the same sort compel us to await someone great and glorious, who "as Son of Man" receives "an eternal kingdom" from "the Ancient of Days"; but this so-called Christ of yours is in fact so far dishonoured and discredited as to have fallen under

¹ See, for the evidence and the conclusions drawn from it, Billerbeck, *Komm.*, i. 485 ff., 956-959.

² *Sanh* 98^a, cited Billerbeck, i. 486.

³ Billerbeck, i. 959.

the final curse in the Law of God, for he was crucified'. I do not think that we can infer anything from this passage concerning the Jewish interpretation of Dan. vii. current in Justin's day. Justin himself has brought forward the passage and offered a Christian interpretation of it claiming (a) that it prophesies the coming of the Messiah in power and glory, and (b) that it refers to Christ. Trypho replies that he finds (a) proved, but not (b). I doubt whether his words should be taken to mean, 'We Jews already hold (a); but we must reject (b)'. In any case Justin here is only evidence for the second century A.D. For the interpretation of Dan. vii. a hundred years earlier we are driven back on the *Book of Enoch* and the New Testament. I turn now to *Enoch*.

The *Book of Enoch*, in the form in which it has come down to us, is a confused and bewildering mass of material. A great deal of pioneer work has been done on the text and the constituent elements have been more or less successfully isolated. Among the most important for our purposes is the section known as the Similitudes or Parables (chaps. xxxvii-lxxi), for in these chapters the Son of Man plays a large part. A good deal of what I have to say will be concerned with a recent and careful study, *Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch* by Erik Sjöberg (Lund, 1946); and I should like to acknowledge how much I am indebted to this learned and thorough work, even though I am frequently compelled to take a different line of interpretation.

Before going into details it may be well to recapitulate briefly the basic facts which constitute the core of the problem. As we have seen, in the seventh chapter of Daniel the Son of Man is a symbolic figure representing 'the people of the saints of the Most High'.¹ In Dan. viii. 17 Daniel himself is addressed, and in the book of Ezekiel that prophet is addressed

¹ For this collective significance of Son of Man we have a good parallel in Ps. lxxx. 16, 18, on which see M. Black in *Exp. Times*, lx. (1948), 11: 'The nation is personified as God's "right-hand man", "the son of man whom thou madest strong for thyself" (or "securedst for thyself")', i.e. that branch of the human family appropriated by God for His Divine purpose in history. The "Son of Man" has become a collective symbol for Israel.' The Targum on these verses is instructive.

eighty-seven times, as 'Son of Man'. Again in Dan. x. 16 the seer is in contact with a being 'like the appearance of a son of man': the context makes it clear that this being is angelic. In *Enoch* 'the Son of Man' is the name of a being who can also be described as 'the Elect One', 'the Righteous One', 'the Anointed One', who, moreover, stands in a special relation to a body of people who can also be called 'the Righteous' or 'the Elect'. In the Gospels we have a considerable number of sayings of Jesus which are susceptible of an individual or a corporate interpretation. In all these cases the first task is to determine as accurately as possible the sense of the term in the places where it appears and by reference to the context. Where 'Son of Man' refers to an individual we must try to identify him; where it refers to a group we must try to define the group.

So far as I can see there are no short cuts. We cannot say that there is any variation of language to show a difference of meaning. The symbolic figure of Dan. vii. who represents the people of the saints of the Most High is described as כְּבָר אֱנֹשׁ. Daniel himself is addressed as בֶּן-אָדָם in viii. 17. In x. 16 his angelic visitor is described as בְּדִמּוֹת (or בֶּן-) אָדָם. In vii. 13 ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ο' and θ'; in viii. 17 υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, ο' and θ'; in x. 16 ὡς ὁμοίωσις υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου, θ' (strangely enough ὡς ὁμοίωσις χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου in ο') are all rendered in the Ethiopic version by *walda eguala ema heyau*. All that can be said in a general way is something like this:

ἄνθρωπος is rendered by Eth. *be'esi* when a particular man is meant;

by *sab'e* when it is a man (indef.) or man (in general).

ἄνθρωποι is rendered by *sab'e* or *eguala ema heyau*.

'Sons of men' is rendered by *eg. em. h* or *daqqa eg. em. h* or *weluda sab'e*.

ἄνθρωπος is normally rendered by *be'esi* and *ἄνδρες* by *sab'e* or '*adawu*.

Sab'e and *eguala ema heyau* can be used as collective nouns for man in general. One way of indicating a single member of

this group is to say *walda sab'e* or *walda eguala ema heyau*. A number of such individuals is *weluda sab'e*; but I have not seen a plural *weluda eguala ema heyau*.

There is one further linguistic point. It has been noted that in Ethiopic *Enoch walda eg. em. h.* is accompanied by the demonstrative pronoun. It is now, I think, widely agreed that this pronoun in the Ethiopic probably represents the Greek definite article. But there are two further points: (a) while the Similitudes of Enoch have 'that Son of Man' they do not have 'that Elect One'; (b) in the Ethiopic Gospels we regularly find Son of Man without the demonstrative. That is to say, the translator of the Similitudes (assuming that he translated from Greek) used the demonstrative in the case of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and not in the case of ὁ ἐκλεκτός: he, therefore, did not mechanically render the article by the demonstrative; and we can only conjecture his reason for using it in these cases. The explanation may be that the demonstrative is used to indicate the translator's opinion that the term Son of Man is being used in a special sense. After all, *walda eguala ema heyau* means simply 'the man'. The prefixing of the demonstrative may be meant to produce the effect that we should obtain by putting 'the man' in inverted commas and writing man with a capital M. Expressions like 'Elect One' or 'Lord of Spirits' carry their meaning in themselves; but 'the man' will hardly convey any special meaning unless some hint is given that such a meaning is intended. The demonstrative may be a way of giving that hint.¹

Son of Man, then, is an ordinary term which in certain contexts carries a special meaning. In Eth. *Enoch* it is the designation of a figure who makes his first appearance in chap. xlvī.

' And there I saw one who had a head of days.

And his head was white like wool.

And with him was another whose countenance had the appearance of a man.

And his face was full of graciousness like one of the holy angels.

¹ In the Ethiopic Gospels the demonstrative is not used with Son of Man because there the special meaning of the term is already firmly established and can be taken for granted.

And I asked the angel, who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days.

And he answered and said unto me :

This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness.

With whom dwelleth righteousness,¹

And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,

Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

And whose lot is pre-eminent before the Lord of Spirits.

And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen

Shall remove the kings and the mighty from their seats

And the strong from their thrones

And shall loosen the reins of the strong

And break the teeth of the sinners.

The description is most interesting. The seer is at pains to indicate that the figure is a human-looking figure. Looking at it you would say it was a man. It has also an expression of countenance which can fairly be called angelic. A human figure with the look of an angel: not a man or an angel. Evidently it is a symbolic figure: the question is, what does it symbolise? The seer asks his angel guide for the information. The answer given is not crystal clear. We must do the best we can with the statements that are made.

(1) 'This is the Son of Man who possesses righteousness; with whom righteousness dwells.' I am inclined to think that the true parallel to this is *Eccles.* xxiv. 7-12, where wisdom is the speaker:—

'With all these [i.e. every people and nation] I sought a resting place

And said: In whose inheritance shall I lodge?

Then the Creator of all things gave me commandment

And he that created me fixed my dwelling place;

And he said: Let thy dwelling-place be in Jacob

And in Israel take up thine inheritance. . . .

And I took root among an honoured people,

In the portion of the Lord (and) of his inheritance.'

When it is remembered that in *Ecclesiasticus* wisdom is identified with the Torah and that the Torah is the righteousness of God, the relevance of this text becomes clear.

¹ Cf. Dan. ix. 7, 'O Lord righteousness belongeth unto thee'; Is. i. 21, 'How is the faithful city become an harlot! she that was full of judgment! righteousness lodged in her, but now murderers.'

(2) 'He will reveal (or reveals) all the treasures of that which is hidden.' With this we may compare Prov. ii. 4 'If thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures', on which R. Phinehas, c. A.D. 300, said: 'If you seek after the words of the Law as for hid treasures, God will not withhold from you your reward.'

What the Son of Man possesses and reveals is the hidden treasure of God's wisdom and righteousness embodied in the Law.

(3) This Son of Man is further described as having been chosen by the Lord of Spirits; and it is said that his lot is pre-eminent, or has prevailed, before the Lord of Spirits. This choice in heaven has certain consequences on earth in the putting down of tyrants and oppressors.

Sjöberg's conclusion after looking at these data that 'what is here envisaged is not in fact a man—at least not in the ordinary sense of the word': and in that we must surely agree with him. But he goes on: 'It is rather a heavenly being, *der ganz besondere himmlische Mensch*.'¹ At this point I think it is time to call a halt, and to say that 'heavenly man' is a question-begging term. (I leave on one side the question whether it is a term with any meaning at all in the framework of Hebrew and Jewish theology. I doubt it.) These bits of description of heavenly appointment to an earthly destiny no more justify us in thinking of 'a heavenly man' than the terms of Jeremiah's inaugural vision justify us in thinking of 'a heavenly Jeremiah'.

In *Enoch* xlviii we have a similar set of statements. First (vv. 2 f.) we are told:

'At that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits; and his name before the Head of Days, Yea, before the sun and the signs were created, Before the stars of the heaven were made, His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.'

In this Charles (*ad loc.*) found evidence for 'the pre-existence of the Son of Man'. Sjöberg (p. 53) recognises in this passage the reappearance of the Heavenly Man already mentioned in chap. xlii, and (p. 92) he regards this being as pre-existent. In this

¹ Sjöberg, *op. cit.*, 50.

view he is further fortified by v. 6 which tells us that the Son of Man

'has been chosen and hidden before him (the Lord of Spirits)
before the creation of the world and for evermore.'

[Here let me say that I think it would not be a bad thing if the words 'pre-exist', 'pre-existent', and 'pre-existence' could be quietly dropped. A pre-existent Son of Man is one who exists before. Before what? The terms do not tell us. Nor do they tell us anything about the mode of the existence. Altogether they are thoroughly vague and ambiguous, and I cannot help thinking that we should get on better without them.]

But our immediate task is to discover what is meant by the naming of the name of the Son of Man before the Lord of Spirits. I can think of only two possibilities:—

(1) The Son of Man may be called into existence in this way. The nearest analogy would be the Primal Man in the Manichean myth. Here, as Burkitt says: 'The Father of Greatness neither espouses the Mother of Life nor begets the Primal Man, but calls (مَلِك) —and they exist'.¹ Those who are interested in tracing connexions between the Son of Man and the 'Primal Man' may also note the similarity between the name *walda eguala ema heyau* and the name of the mother of the Primal Man in Theodore b. Khôni's account, (مَلِك وِسْتَل) 'the mother of life' or 'mother of the living'. But it has to be borne in mind that the Manichean cosmogony is based upon ideas about the nature of the material world and of the processes that go on in it which are as far as possible from Old Testament and Jewish convictions. If there is anything at all in these parallels, they may well be regarded as evidence that the Similitudes have at some stage in their history come under Manichean influence.

But (2) we can find parallels a little nearer home. We have the proclamation of Sumerian kings by the god: "Bur Sin whose name was spoken in Nippur by Enlil the Lord of the

¹ *The Religion of the Manichees*, 23 f. Cf. F. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie Manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khôni*, 14; H. J. Polotsky, art. Manichæismus in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* Supplementbd. VI, Col. 251.

Earth";¹ and we have similarly Babylonian kings chosen and named by the god of the land. 'Anu and Enlil, the supreme gods, chose Marduk to be exalted over all the gods of the Earth, and at the same time pronounced the name of Babylon as a decree that it should be the head of all cities. Therewith they called the name of Hammurabi "so that I might cause justice to appear in the land and might destroy naughty and wicked men, so that the strong should not afflict the weak".'² In the Old Testament we have Is. xliii. 1, 'But now thus saith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel: Fear not, for I have redeemed thee; I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine'; Is. xlv. 3 f., addressed to Cyrus, 'I am the Lord, which call thee by thy name, even the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel my chosen, I have called thee by thy name; I have summoned thee, though thou hast not known me'.³ The naming of the name of a group or an individual can mean simply the designation of that group or individual to some high destiny. And this seems to me to be the most likely meaning in this passage in *Enoch*. We are told in v. 3 that this tremendous decision was taken before the creation of the world; and in the remaining verses of the chapter the consequences of the decision are described. As in chap. xlii, they are to take place in the world as part and parcel of the history of mankind. The Son of Man is to be 'the staff of the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall' (v. 4). Under him they are to have a complete triumph over 'the kings of the earth and the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands' (v. 8); and the elect, holy, and righteous ones will be left in undisputed possession; and 'there shall be rest on the earth' (v. 10). In this passage (as in the *Psalms of Solomon*) the expected hero of this story of the triumph of the righteous is called the Anointed One (Messiah) (v. 10). What the whole section gives is the story of pre-mundane decisions in heaven which are destined to have their fulfilment on earth.

¹ T. Fish, in *Bull. Ryl. Lib.*, xxi. (1937), 157 f.

² C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*, 43.

³ The idea was still live in N.T. times. Cf. Phil. ii. 9 ff.

In this chapter we have two terms employed regarding the Son of Man; and it is necessary to consider them briefly. In v. 6 we are told that the Son of Man

‘has been chosen and hidden before him (the Lord of Spirits)
before the creation of the world and for evermore’.

On this Sjöberg (p. 90) says that here, ‘as is generally recognised, the idea of pre-existence is really present. The Son of Man is not only chosen before the creation of the world . . . but he is also hidden before God from that time on’. Similarly in lxii. 7 it is said that,

from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden
and the Most High preserved him in the presence of his might
And revealed him to the elect.

And again in xxxix. 6 f.

And in that place my eyes saw the elect one of righteousness and
faithfulness,

And righteousness shall be in his days

And the righteous and elect ones shall be without number before him
for ever

And I saw their (v.l. his ¹) dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord
of Spirits.

And all the righteous and elect ones shall shine before him like the light
of fire

And their mouth shall be full of praise

And their lips shall extol the name of the Lord of Spirits

And righteousness before him shall not fail

And uprightness before him shall not fail.

These passages are widely held to imply the ‘heavenly pre-existence’ of the Son of Man. It may be remarked in passing that if the translation given by Beer and Flemming is right, xxxix. 6 f. would provide equally good evidence for the pre-existence of all the righteous and elect.

But will the texts in fact support a doctrine of pre-existence (whatever that may mean)? I think the answer is that they

¹ his gm: their qtuβ. On the principle laid down by Charles (Introd., p. xxv) the reading ‘their’ would have a fair chance of being right. The α MSS. are divided and the casting vote of β is in favour of qtu. Charles has made his choice of ‘his’ seem more reasonable by transferring this line bodily into the context which speaks of the Elect One of righteousness and faithfulness, between ll. 1 and 2 of the passage. Dillmann read ‘their’. Beer, Flemming, and Sjöberg follow Charles in reading ‘his’ but not in the transposition of the lines.

clearly support a doctrine of pre-mundane election both of the Son of Man and of all the righteous and elect ones. (What the relation of the Son of Man and the righteous and elect ones is I shall discuss presently.) But pre-mundane election does not necessarily involve pre-mundane existence except as a project in the mind of God. The Hebrew and Jewish mind had no qualms about believing in the pre-mundane election of Israel.¹ *Ber. R.* 1. 2*b* (Theodor, p. 6) 'Six things preceded the creation of the world: some were actually created and some it was planned to create. The Torah and the Throne of Glory were created. . . . It was planned to create the Patriarchs, Israel (proof text Ps. lxxiv. 2, "Remember thy congregation, which thou hast purchased of old"), the Temple, and the name of the Messiah.' The pre-mundane election of Israel is implied and presupposed in St. Paul's argument in *Rom.* ix-xi. For the pre-mundane election of the Patriarchs we can refer to *Tanch. (B)* § 19 (17*b*),² and for that of the Messiah or the name of the Messiah to the passages collected by Billerbeck (*Komm.*, ii. 333 ff.). It is a natural development from the idea of the pre-mundane election of Israel, when the New Testament speaks of the pre-mundane election of the Church. This is quite explicit in *Eph.* i. 3 f., *I Pet.* i. 1 f., and is probably implied in *I Cor.* i. 27-29 and *James* ii. 5. What is quite clear is that the distinction was made between things that were actually brought into existence before creation and those whose future existence was decided upon before creation. The name—and in this connexion 'name' probably means 'person'—of the Messiah belongs to the latter class.

Sjöberg and others lay greater stress on the 'hiding' of the Son of Man before God as evidence of pre-existence; but I do not think that the use of this term elsewhere gives much support to the contention. In the Old Testament various words are used to express the idea (הָיָה, *Is.* xlix. 2; צָפַן, *Ps.* xxvii. 5; *Jb.* xiv. 13; כָּסָה, *Ps.* cxliiii. 9; סָתַר, *Ps.* xvii. 8; xxvii. 5;

¹ Billerbeck, i. 974; ii. 335. *Ber. R.* 1, 2*b* ed. Theodor, p. 6. הוּא ר' ירמיה 'ר' בשם ר' שמואל בר' יצחק (c.300) מחשבתן של ישראל קדמה לכל. Trans. Billerbeck, iii. 579 f.: Der Gedanke (die Idee) Israels ging allem andren voran.

² Quoted Billerbeck, *Komm.* ii. 335. Cf. *Ac.* xiii. 17.

xxx. 20 ; lxiv. 2 ; and סֵתֶר, Ps. xxxii. 7 ; cxix. 114). In all these cases the reference is to divine guidance and protection amid the dangers and trials of this mortal life.¹ Similarly, the references to dwelling under the wings of the Lord of Spirits do not imply 'pre-existence'. To bring a person under the wings of the Shekinah is a regular way of describing conversion to Judaism and the large number of rabbinical passages collected in Levy, *NHWB*, ii. 357 f. provides sufficient evidence that this phrase means divine care and protection here and now.

I would emphasise again that what is set out in these passages is, it seems to me, the record of pre-mundane decisions whose consequences in the created world of men and things can then be "propheesied" in the best apocalyptic fashion. The prophecies are as usual past history described in the future tense until we come to the writer's own time: beyond that they are wishful thinking.

It is noteworthy that when it comes to describing the mode of the 'pre-existence' of the Son of Man, all that Sjöberg can say is this: 'Der präexistente Menschensohn ist *inaktiv*' (p. 96, italics his). He is *most* inactive, not to say inert. He does not even speak. He takes no part in the revelations made to Enoch who has to rely for all his information on the angelic interpreter who acts as his guide. The mystery of the Son of Man is a mystery about him. In fact, he could more properly be described as unborn than as pre-existent. Later he appears on the stage of history and becomes active.

In describing this activity there is a tendency to stress the word 'eschatology'. The Son of Man appears on the plane of history only to inaugurate the great eschatological catastrophe, in which he delivers the righteous and judges sinners. Properly speaking there is no judgment of the righteous: their merits are acknowledged and await only the appropriate reward of complete happiness in a transformed world. The righteous are united with the Son of Man in a classless society, in which all are members of the aristocracy. In this scheme the righteous and the sinners are already what they are. The Son of Man comes not to seek and to save the lost but to vindicate and reward the

¹ Cf. A. Oepke in *ThWb*, III. 969.

good and to condemn and punish the evil. All the persons concerned already belong to one class or the other; and the proceedings are political rather than judicial. (Rather like the triumphs of "democracy" of the Moscow pattern.) Those who need forgiveness cannot have it: they are marked down for liquidation. The others are due to receive rewards: they need no forgiveness other than a winking at their occasional slips in view of their general good character expressed in loyalty to Israel and Israel's God.

There seems to be something lacking here. The story is all beginning and end; and the middle seems to have dropped out. At the beginning we have a 'pre-existent' Son of Man, who for all practical purposes might as well be non-existent. At the end we have a very active Son of Man. In between we have hints of the oppression of the righteous and elect ones by the wicked. But I cannot help thinking that one object of the apocalyptic writers was to justify God's ways to man by making a sensible story of the whole course of history.

That brings us back to the problem of the relation of the Son of Man to the community which he vindicates at the end of the story, when they all live happily ever after. The problem is made more acute by the two chapters lxx. f., in which we have an account of the relations between Enoch himself and the Son of Man.

In Chapter lxx. it is said of Enoch:

'And it came to pass after this that his name (i.e. Enoch himself) during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit (or wind) and his name (i.e. he) vanished from among them.'

This is clearly a reference to Enoch's translation as recorded in Gen. v. 24. Then Enoch carries on the story in the first person:

'And from that day I was no longer numbered amongst them; and he set me between the two winds, between the north and the west, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.'

There follows a long poetical passage in which Enoch joins in the praises of the inhabitants of heaven. Then he tells us:

'And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of Days and that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.¹ And he came to me and greeted me with his voice and said to me: "Thou art the Son of Man (*walda be'esi*) who art born for righteousness and righteousness abides over thee, and the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes thee not". And he said to me: "He proclaims peace to thee in the name of the world to come, for peace has gone out from here since the creation of the world, and so shall it be unto thee for ever and ever and ever. And all shall walk in thy ways for righteousness never forsakes thee. With thee shall be their dwelling-places and with thee their lot, and they shall never be separated from thee for ever." And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man, and there shall be peace for the righteous and an upright way for the righteous in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'

What does all this mean? Sjöberg, after a careful survey of previous work, draws these conclusions. He says (p. 168): 'Two possibilities are open. *Either* the earthly Enoch is an incarnation of the Son of Man, and at his final translation is greeted as Son of Man because that is what he already was during his earthly life, *or* Enoch is first made Son of Man at his translation, and before that was only a man like other men. In the former case we have to do with the idea of incarnation, in the latter only with the idea of exaltation.' Of the two possibilities Sjöberg definitely chooses the latter (p. 171). 'What is here (i.e. in chaps. lxx. f.) portrayed, is not the return of an incarnate heavenly being to his original state, but the exaltation and transformation of a man into a heavenly being.' Again (p. 185 f.): '*Enoch* lxxi is to be understood in terms of the idea of exaltation, not of incarnation. . . . The relation between Enoch and the Son of Man is thus to be understood in terms of the idea of exaltation. At the end of his life Enoch is translated to heaven and identified with the pre-existent Son of Man.'

But here we come to the great difficulty, a difficulty of which Sjöberg is acutely aware: how is it possible at all to identify the exalted Enoch with the pre-existent Son of Man? (p. 187). It is not as if the two met and somehow fused into one. As Sjöberg points out the Son of Man does not appear at first. Enoch is met by God and hailed by him as Son of Man. Sjöberg

¹ Here we abandon Charles, who has rewritten the rest of the passage in accordance with his view of what Enoch ought to have said.

goes on to say : ' When this (the greeting) happens, the designation Son of Man is charged with the content which it has in the preceding account in the Similitudes. What is meant by it is the pre-existent heavenly Son of Man. As this (Son of Man) is the exalted Enoch hailed and takes his place in the heavenly world. We can form no concrete picture of how this is possible' (p. 187). So the essential problem is stated and declared insoluble.

I venture to think that the problem is insoluble precisely because Sjöberg insists on retaining the conception of the Son of Man as a pre-existent heavenly being, a being something lower than God and something higher than the angels. I also think that the remedy is to recognise that the pre-mundane Son of Man in *Enoch* is, if I may so describe it, an idea in the mind of God. Now, what are the elements that go to make up the total conception indicated by the term Son of Man? They are : divine election, divine protection and guidance, the possession of divinely given righteousness, and eventually divine vindication and everlasting happiness. There may be others that I have overlooked ; but these are the main ones. If we now ask how the conception thus made up is to be actualised, the obvious answer is in the field of history by human beings as individuals or as a group. And when we turn back to the Similitudes we do find some remarkable parallelism between ' the Elect one ' and ' the Elect ones '. They have certain common qualities and they share a common destiny. May it not be that we are here confronted by the ' oscillation ' between the individual and the corporate ?

I should like to suggest that there is in the Enoch picture a double oscillation, so to speak, for which there are parallels elsewhere. The group idea finds expression in the concept of the elect and righteous ones, i.e. the Israel within Israel, the Remnant. The individual idea finds expression in two personalities : at the beginning of the course of events in Enoch, who is regarded as the first human individual to embody the Son of Man idea, the nucleus of the group of the elect and righteous ones ; at the end it finds expression again in the figure of the Messiah who is to carry out the final vindication of the

saints. But whether it be in Enoch, who is as it were the first-born of many brethren, or in the Messiah, or in the corporate body of the elect and righteous, it is the same idea that is embodied, an idea that formed part of the divine purpose before the creation of the world.

At this point I should like to introduce one or two bits of evidence which seem to me to illustrate the idea of oscillation between a group and its founder-member or first nucleus. The first is from *Ber. R.* 44, 27a (Theodor, p. 426) discussing the text *Is.* xli. 8 f. : 'But thou Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend. . . . I have chosen thee and not cast thee away.' On the last clause the comment is : '“ I have chosen thee ”—in Abraham ; “ and I have not cast thee away ”—in Abraham'. You might almost say that Israel is the body of Abraham. Again, in *Ps.* lxxxix. 4 (LXX) we have

διεθέμην διαθήκην τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μου
ᾧμοσα Δαυὶδ τῷ δούλῳ μου

and R. Kittel in his commentary on this verse (p. 296) remarked that 'der Erwählte ist wohl Israel das in David als dem König vertreten ist'. In the New Testament, *Heb.* vii. 1-10, we have an elaborate argument concerning Abraham's payment of tithes to Melchizedek, in which the nerve of the proof is the idea that Abraham represents the Levitical priesthood that would one day be descended from him, and that so the Levitical priesthood can be thought of as paying tithe to Melchizedek. In *Eph.* i. 4 we have the idea of the Church being chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world. In these cases we have an individual representing a community that does not yet exist in such a way that the community, when it does come into being, may be thought of as an extension of his personality. I am inclined to think that it is along these lines that we may find a solution of the problem of Enoch. Enoch incarnates, not a 'pre-existent heavenly being' but a divine idea. He is hailed by God as the incarnation of the idea, *after* he has lived a life of righteousness on earth. He becomes the first actualisation in history of the Son of Man idea and the nucleus of the group of the elect and righteous. Some of these have died and are with

Enoch in Paradise ; others are still *militantes in saeculo*. The thing for which all wait is the manifestation of the Son of Man idea in triumph in the Messianic vindication of the elect and righteous.

Now an idea, a piece of God's purpose, which has been actualised in a famous man in the past, is actualised in the people of the saints of the Most High in the days of the Maccabees, and is destined to be more fully actualised in the expected Messiah, is something specially characteristic of the Hebrew way of looking at life and history. It has obvious points of contact with another characteristically Hebrew and Semitic idea, that of corporate personality. It is not possible here to do more than indicate the most important points.¹ Chief among these is one, to which I allowed too little weight in my earlier discussion of the Son of Man in the *Teaching of Jesus* ; that is the constant oscillation between the conception of the social unit as an association of individuals in the plural or as a corporate personality in the singular.² Along with this goes the fact that where the conception of corporate personality is dominant there is often a tendency to see the corporate personality as embodied in a person. The king in some sense embodies the corporate personality of his subjects.³

So when we come to study the use of the term Son of Man in the sayings of Jesus, we should be prepared to find that it

¹ For fuller treatment reference must be made to S. A. Cook in *Camb. Anct. Hist.*, iii. 437-444 ; in W. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*³, 503 ff., 590 ff., 655 ff. ; *The Old Testament ; a Reinterpretation*, 115 ff. ; H. Wheeler Robinson, The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality, in *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments* (B.Z.A.W. 66), 49 ff. ; *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, 70 f., 81-89, 264 ; J. Pedersen, *Israel* ; A. R. Johnson, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God*, 1-17 ; C. R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah*, 103-110.

² Cf. A. R. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 15. Something of the same sort comes into our own thinking when we hesitate over 'The Committee were of the opinion . . .' or 'The Committee was of the opinion . . .', and solve the problem by saying 'The Committee came to the conclusion . . .'.

³ Cf. N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes*, 20 ff. ; D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law*, 154-189. Something similar may be observed in the Roman Empire in the idea of the Emperor as carrying the person of the state. On this see C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, 127 and cf. Seneca, *de Clementia*, i. 4 f. 'tu (Nero) animus rei publicae tuae es, illa corpus tuum'.

may stand for a community comparable to 'the people of the saints of the Most High' in Dan. vii., and that sometimes this community may be thought of as an aggregate of individual disciples, at others as a single corporate entity. Again we should be prepared to find that this corporate entity is embodied *par excellence* in Jesus himself in such a way that his followers, who together with him constitute the Son of Man as a group, may be thought of as extensions of his personality, or, as St. Paul puts it later on, limbs of his body. And I think that all the authentic instances of the use of the term 'Son of Man' in the Synoptic Gospels should be interpreted along these lines. When I wrote the *Teaching of Jesus*, I was prepared to make two exceptions, and to regard Son of Man in Mk. ii. 10 and 28 as signifying 'man' in general. It now seems to me certain that in Mk. ii. 27 f. we should read, 'The Sabbath was made for the Son of Man and not the Son of Man for the Sabbath: and so the Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath'.¹ In the other and more perplexing saying about the right of the Son of Man to forgive sins on earth, I am more and more disposed to think that the essential thing about forgiveness of sins on earth is restoration to full fellowship with the community. Sin cuts off the member: forgiveness restores him. With whom, then, does the right of restoration and reintegration lie? Mk. ii. 10 says that it lies with the community itself; and the community in this matter acts through Jesus who embodies and represents it.

If now we look at the Gospel occurrences of 'Son of Man' as a whole, I think we can lay down a number of propositions about them.

(1) Jesus took the term Son of Man, and with it its primary meaning, from Dan. vii. We have evidence in Mk. xiv. 62 that he knew the Daniel passage and was influenced by it. We have no good reason to suppose that he was aware of any other Son of Man than the Danielic.²

¹ For the proof of this see my article in *Coniectanea Neotestamentica*, xi. (1947), 138-146. I take the essential meaning of the saying to be that the Son of Man (= Jesus and his disciples) is engaged on a task whose requirements override those of the Sabbath laws.

² See T. F. Glasson, *The Second Advent*, 53 f.

(2) The Danielic Son of Man represents the people of the saints of the Most High ; and his destiny, which is theirs, is to ' receive the kingdom '. This reception of the kingdom I take to be a comprehensive expression covering all the popular hopes of the vindication of the Chosen People, all the ideas associated with the Divine promises made in favour of the dynasty of David, the kind of thing that is set out in detail in the *Psalms of Solomon* xvii. f., the *Magnificat*, and the *Benedictus*. The people of the saints of the Most High is the actualisation in history of the Israelite ideal. The concept of the Son of Man thus links the Davidic hope to the Israelite ideal.

(3) The tension in the Gospels between Jesus and his contemporaries is in the interpretation of all this. The crucial questions are about the way in which the kingdom is to be transferred to its rightful owners, and about the nature of the Israelite ideal. In the days of Jesus there was a powerful inclination to answer the former question in terms of the acquisition of political power and economic advantage by Israel, and the latter in terms of the establishment of the Jewish Law as the supreme standard of behaviour.

(4) Jesus took a different line. He defined the ' Son of Man ' in terms of the ' Servant of the Lord '.¹ We can see this definition worked out in detail in the Son of Man sayings themselves, and in a series of sayings concerning the task of the disciples and the nature of the true greatness and power which a disciple may hope to attain. Above all we can see it in the nature and progress of the Messianic Ministry itself. The best reason for calling Jesus Son of Man *par excellence* is the fact that his Ministry reveals perfectly the true meaning of the term. If we say that the Son of Man must be the Servant of the Lord—and I think that is what Jesus said—it means that the Messiah must be the Servant of the Lord *and* that Israel (or the Remnant) must be the Servant of the Lord, *and* that the Israelite ideal must be the ideal portrayed in the picture of the Servant of the Lord. It means all three ; and we may add that the Messiah Jesus embodies the Israelite ideal and embodies Israel.

¹ On this vitally important point see W. Manson, *Jesus the Messiah*, 110 ff.

(5) Finally, it has to be said that the supreme and dominating figure in all this is the Ancient of Days or the Most High in Daniel, the Lord of Spirits in *Enoch* and the God and Father of Jesus Christ in the Gospels. The kingdom is his kingdom, and it comes as his gift. Its actualisation in history is a revelation of divine power. Similarly, the Israelite ideal is a God-given standard; whether as embodied in the Torah or in the Messianic Ministry it is a revelation of the Divine wisdom. So Paul can speak of Jesus as the power and wisdom of God, for in him the power and wisdom of God are actualised. In him the kingdom of God comes to Israel and the God-given Israelite ideal is realised.

HISTORY AND THE WORD OF GOD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.¹

BY PROFESSOR D. MARTIN NOTH,
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN.

DURING the last hundred years our knowledge of the ancient oriental world has grown surprisingly owing to the countless finds of monuments and inscriptions. Previously the Old Testament was, apparently, our oldest source for human history, but we know now that the Old Testament belongs to a comparatively late stage in the long and chequered history of the Ancient East, and that the history of Israel was conditioned by the historical situation and movements of the Ancient East.

To-day we have to seek the origins of the people of Israel in the history of the second millennium B.C. Now that the history of this period is well known, we are able to form a pretty good picture of it. Already towards the end of the nineteenth century the Amarna tablets, which contain letters to the Pharaoh from some of the near eastern kings and especially from numerous vassal chiefs in Syria-Palestine, had thrown light upon the political situation in Syria-Palestine during the years immediately before the Israelites took possession of the land. This was, and has remained, of first importance for the development of the Israelite occupation of Palestine and for Israel's history. At the same time it demonstrated the importance of the *milieu*.

Of more immediate relevance to Old Testament matters was the discovery, in 1929, of many clay tablets at Ras esh-Shamra, on the North Syrian coast. These documents gave us our first original religio-historical texts from the Canaanite world, and, like the Amarna material, they belong to a time immediately before the occupation by the Israelites. They proved—and

¹ The original text of "Geschichte und Gotteswort im Alten Testament" will be published in *Bonner Akademische Reden*. This slightly shortened English rendering, made by Professor T. Fish, was read as a lecture by Professor Noth at the University of Manchester on 5th December, 1949.

this had already been considered probable—that Israel not only took over the Canaanite speech of the land into which they entered, but also retained its religious traditions, rejecting only certain definite items, and introduced many of them into its own cult.

The Ras Shamra texts relate only to the environment of the Old Testament, though, of course, that environment acted as a cultural influence. But another more recent literary find contributes, if I am right, to the pre-history of Israel itself. It had already been observed that relations existed between, on the one hand, the rulers who founded the First Dynasty of Babylon, and the tribes of Israel, on the other. The structure of Personal Names was in both places similar.¹ The rulers in Mesopotamia clearly came from the steppe and desert along the Middle Euphrates, seeing that there are, on written documents of that period from the Middle Euphrates, personal names showing the same characteristic structure.² Nevertheless, in view of the distance in space and time between the rulers in Mesopotamia and the tribes of Israel, it was wrong to connect them historically. However, in recent years, some connecting links have been found.

There are, first, the so-called Egyptian *Ächtungstexte* (XIIth Dynasty). These showed that in the nineteenth-eighteenth centuries there were in Syria-Palestine kinsmen of the Babylonian rulers, having the same kind of Personal Names and constituting a new element of the local population. They thus showed that in that same period Mesopotamia in the East, and Syria-Palestine in the West, were traversed by tribes which belonged to the same area.³ It is in this area that the pre-history of the tribes of Israel is to be sought, as will appear perfectly clearly from the recently discovered documents to which I have already referred, and of which I propose now to speak.

In 1933, the French began to excavate the ruins of Tell Hariri (ancient Mari), on the Middle Euphrates. This was once the residence of kings and the hub of a political organisation of

¹ Cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen* (1928), pp. 27 ff., 43 ff.

² Details in Th. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (1926).

³ Cf. M. Noth, *Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen* (Zeitsch. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 65, 1942), pp. 20 ff.

importance. Here more than twenty thousand cuneiform tablets have been found. The publication and study of these tablets will take a long time. Already it has become clear that the contents of the tablets, and especially the letters of various kings of Mari, throw light not only on the contemporary historical situation, but also on the relations of those immigrants, of whom I spoke above, to the later tribes of Israel.

In the first place, the Mari texts shorten considerably the interval of time. From them we deduce that the First Dynasty of Babylon is to be dated some centuries later than hitherto. Consequently, the historical events in the ancient East during the second millennium B.C. approximate more closely in time. The Mari texts belong to the end of the eighteenth century B.C. They show that the kings and the rulers of Mari and of the neighbouring tribes in the Syro-Arabian desert and in Mesopotamia belong to the same circle as the First Dynasty of Babylon and their contemporaries mentioned in the Egyptian *Ächtungstexte*. Moreover, we notice at once some remarkable contacts with the world of the Old Testament. Names and words which otherwise occur only in the Old Testament occur frequently in the Mari texts.¹ One of the larger neighbouring groups, frequently mentioned in the Mari texts, bears the name "Benjamites" (Banû-Jamina).² This does not mean that here we have the ancestors of the later Israelite tribe of Benjamin. But at Mari, as in the Old Testament, Benjamin occurs as a tribal name, and actually with the designation "dweller in the south".³ There occurs also a military commander, designated as *dawîdûm*. Here, certainly, we have the word which occurs as a proper name in the Old Testament, the name of David the King. Likewise the name of Noah occurs in the Mari texts, in the more original phonetic form Nah.⁴ We may say therefore that, although further research is needed into connexions such as these, the connexions certainly exist.

¹ For a general survey of Mari texts see W. von Soden, *Das altbabylonische Briefarchiv von Mari* (Die Welt des Orients, 3, 1948), pp. 187 ff.

² Cf. G. Dossin in *Mélanges Dussaud II* (1939), pp. 981 ff.

³ The Mari texts make certain this explanation of the name which was proposed long ago, for the corresponding designation "dweller in the north" occurs in them.

⁴ J. Lewy in *Mélanges Dussaud I* (1939), pp. 273 ff.

Such similarities as I have just quoted are noteworthy but they do not take us very far. But there is another phenomenon which touches an essential portion of the Old Testament, i.e. Old Testament prophecy. We shall now take a close look at this, making use of three of the Mari texts so far published.

In one of these texts,¹ published last year, the governor of the royal city, Mari, by name Itur-ashdu, reports to the king, away on a campaign, as follows: A man, whose name and native town are given, has come to him and informed him that he has had a dream in which he was transported into the sanctuary of the god Dagan in the city of Tirqa. This god questions him and he answers. Then he instructs him, saying: "Now go! I send you to Zimri-lim (the king of Mari): (to him) you yourself shall say: Send me thy messengers, and lay all thy affairs before me." The text goes on to say that the god Dagan will thereupon give him the victory over the hostile Benjamites.

Alongside this we must put another short text which I give here in translation in order to convey an impression of this kind of text. It runs:

To my Lord (i.e. King Zimri-lim) speak. Thy servant Kibri-Dagan (has spoken) as follows: 'The god Dagan and the god Ikrub-il are safe and sound. The city Tirqa and district are safe and sound. Moreover on the day on which I dispatched this tablet to my lord on the way, a man of the god Dagan came and spoke the following word to me: "The god has sent me (with the following instruction): send speedily to the king! offerings for the dead shall they offer to the spirit of Jahdun-lim". This has the man spoken to me. I communicate it to my lord. May my lord do whatever he thinks right.'²

Lastly, the same Kibri-Dagan, in a text³ which unfortunately

¹ Published and studied by G. Dossin, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 42 (1948), pp. 125 ff.

² Cf. *Archives royales de Mari* III (1948), Nr. 40. The text runs, in transcription:

¹[a-n]a be-lí-ia ²kí-bí-ma ³um-ma Ki-ib-ri-^dDa-gan ⁴warad-ka-a-ma ^{5d}Da-gan ù ^dIk-ru-ub-il[ša]-al-mu ⁶a-lum Ti[r-k]a^{k1} ú ^ha-al-šu-(um) ⁷ša-ni-tam ^{um} ⁸tup-pí an-ni-e-im ⁸a-na[š]i-ir be-lí-ia ú-ša-bi-lam ⁹awílum mu-uh-^hu-um ^{ša} ^dDa-gan ¹⁰il-li-[i] k-ma ¹¹a-wa-tam ki-a-am iḱ-bi-[e-im] ¹²um-ma-a-mi ¹³ilum^{lum} iṣ-pu-ra-an-[ni] ¹⁴hu-mu-ut a-na ¹⁵šar[ri] ¹⁵šu-pu-ur-ma ¹⁶ki-is-pí a-na i-ṭe₄-im-m[i] ¹⁷ša la-aḥ-du-un-li-[im] ¹⁸li-ik-ru-bu ¹⁹an-ni-tam awílum mu-uh-^hu-um ^{šu-ú} ²⁰iḱ-bi-e-im-ma a-na be-lí-ia ²¹aš-ta-ap-ra-am ²²be-lí ^{ša} e-li-šu ṭa-ba-at ²³li-pu-úš

³ *Archives royales de Mari* II (1941), Nr. 90.

is fragmentary, informs the King that on another occasion a Man of the god Dagan¹ came to him and said: The god Dagan has sent me (with the following instruction:) "Send to thy Lord" . . . and then follows, as before, a definite instruction.

In these texts, therefore, we have a kind of messenger of God who, unasked and unbidden, suddenly appears with some definite divine charge.² I know of no phenomenon in the whole of the ancient East which quite corresponds to this. The nearest is that scene at Byblos where the Egyptian Wen-Amon relates his sea trip along the Palestinian-Syrian coast, with the words: When he (i.e. the King of Byblos) sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of his big boys and made him mad, and he said: "Fetch up the god! Fetch the messenger, who has him with him! It is Amon who has sent him: he it is who allowed him to come."³

Here also, apparently, we have to do with a message of God which is spontaneously proclaimed. This account of Wen-Amon belongs to about 1100 B.C. and seems to be an isolated one. But it is not impossible that there is some slight historical connexion between it and the contents of the Mari texts quoted earlier, seeing that relatives of the population in and around Mari also came to Syria-Palestine. But we cannot be certain because the appearance of this man in Byblos is not in that respect clear.

But the similarity of the messengers of God cited on Mari texts to the description of the appearance of the Old Testament prophets is unmistakable. They also behave plainly as messengers of God: unasked and unbidden they declare the word which is laid upon them for the occasion. The customary introduction: "So has Jahweh spoken" is the traditional formula of the message; by it a messenger introduces himself as one com-

¹ The text at this point is badly preserved. We might expect that before the words ša ^dDa-gan (l. 17) the original had something like *awilum muhḫum*, as in the preceding text, l. 9.

² The text of lines 19, 20, runs: ^dDa-gan iš-pu[ra-an-ni] a-na be-li-ka šu-pu-ur-ma.

³ Ranke's translation in H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* ² (1926), p. 72.

missioned to deliver orally a message.¹ The agreement between here (in the Old Testament) and there (Mari) extends to the wording of the declaration. When the man in the first text quoted from Mari hears the god Dagan say to him in a dream: "Go, I send thee to Zimri-lim: thou shalt say as follows", we think of the instruction which the prophet Jeremiah hears in his vocation-vision: "Thou shalt go to all to whom I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak" (Jer. i. 7); or we think of the commission which the prophet Ezekiel receives: "I do send thee unto them (i.e. the Israelites) and thou shalt say unto them: Thus saith the Lord God" (Ez. ii. 4).

And when in the second and third Mari text the messenger of God establishes his credentials before the royal messenger with the words: "The God has sent me", "the god Dagan has sent me", we recall that the Old Testament prophets also referred to their mission in almost identical words. They had to do that, and they did it, before anything else, whenever there was doubt as to their legitimacy and whenever their frequently harsh word aroused embittered opposition. Jeremiah xxvi is an impressive example of this. Jeremiah's harsh word of judgment against the Temple of Jerusalem so provoked the priests and the cultus enthusiasts of this sanctuary that they wanted to kill him. Jeremiah has nothing to say in his defence before the royal officials except one thing: "Jahweh has sent me" (verse 1), and then, once again: "Of a truth, Jahweh has sent me to you, to say all these words in your ears" (verse 15).

Now this agreement between Mari and Old Testament cannot be accidental. All the more so precisely because in the whole of the ancient East nothing really comparable has been found up to date. It cannot therefore be doubted that in the Old Testament prophets we have the figure of a messenger of God such as we find on the Mari texts, and that this messenger of God is not merely a figure which is parallel to Old Testament prophets but it belongs to the pre-history of prophecy. We must suspect that there is here a historical connexion, especially since, as I

¹ On this see especially L. Köhler, *Deuteriojesaja stilkrätisch untersucht* (1923), pp. 102 ff.

have already mentioned, striking relations between the Mari texts and the Old Testament exist. It is not possible as yet to define the kind and manner of this historical connexion. The time-gap remains relatively great. Nevertheless there is reason to hope that further discoveries will bring more light. Meanwhile we must be content with the general statement that in all probability the origin of the Israelitish tribes is to be sought in those circles which are first recognisable in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon in the culture regions on the edges of the Syro-Palestinian Desert. It is manifest therefore that the pattern of the prophet, which for the Old Testament is central, had a pre-history. The great importance of the Mari texts for the Old Testament is clear from the fact that not only have they brought a new understanding of the historical and religious-historical environment of the Old Testament, but also that they begin to throw light on the origins of Israel and the essential elements of Israelitish life and belief.

And yet, even if we assume a historical connexion between the messenger of God on the Mari texts and the prophet of the Old Testament, there is a clear difference between the two. This difference lies not in the manner of the occurrence, but in the content of that which is announced as the divine message. According to the texts so far found at Mari, the message deals with cult and political matters of very limited and ephemeral importance. The message of Dagan communicated in the dream has in view the sanctuary of this god, which the king has not sufficiently taken into consideration. The king must lay his affairs before the god Dagan and in his sanctuary support permanently the messengers who in some way can convey to him the oracles imparted in the sanctuary. The editor of this text has suggested that here we have to deal with a forged message with the aid of which the Dagan priests of Tirqa wished to push their sanctuary into the foreground. But there is no convincing reason for this suggestion. And even if we accept it, this 'pious fraud' could only be effective if it was at that time thought possible that a man in a dream could receive such a message from the god. In the second of the texts we have mentioned, the message demands that sacrifices be brought for

the dead spirit of the previous king, lahdun-lim. No reason for this is given. We may suppose that some disaster had been traced back to the activity of the spirit of lahdun-lim whom they must conciliate by sacrifices.

In any case, for purposes of illustration, we might compare the messages of the two men who, according to Old Testament tradition, on one occasion appeared before David as "prophets", in the same way as the messengers of God at Mari had recourse to the king. After the census ordered by David in Israel and Judah, the "prophet" Gad appeared before the king in order to put to him, in the name of his God, the choice of three different calamities as punishment for this irreligious enterprise. Shortly afterwards Gad again appeared before the king to bid him erect an altar on a particular spot that the plague might be stayed from the people (2 Sam. xxiv. 11 ff., 18 f.).

Also, according to the traditional text of 2 Sam. vii. 4 ff., the "prophet" Nathan received by night—also in a dream—the instruction to deliver to King David a message from God, to the effect that God did not approve of David's intention to build a temple for the ark of God.

All that is true, but there is also the account of the sending of the "prophet" Nathan to David after the king's adultery with the wife of one of his retainers, and Nathan's earnest rebuke of the king for his sin. An incident such as this surpasses, in depth and principle, anything that we find in the Mari texts. The same is true of the words of rebuke spoken by the "prophet" Elijah against the unfaithfulness and lawlessness of King Ahab of Israel.

When we come to the prophets of the prophetic books, any comparison of their content with the messages from God in the Mari texts is out of the question. The prophetic literature deals with guilt and punishment, reality and unreality, present and future of the Israelite people as chosen by God for a special and unique service, the declaration of the great and moving contemporary events in the world as part of a process which, together with the future issue of that process, is willed by God.

Even where the prophets give practical directions in a concrete situation, they keep this larger connexion in view. As a

rule they speak not in words of principle or of comprehensive survey, but carry out their commission in respect of some particular situation. But even here, generally speaking, whilst making detailed pronouncements *ad hoc*, they relate the particular situation with which they deal to the great subject of God's purposeful action in history. When the Assyrian might breaks into Syria-Palestine, they announce the imminent event and explain it. Or when the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar attacks, they demand a definite attitude towards him. But they always speak in the name of God who alone disposes of the great powers of world history and whose will all powers and movements of history serve. These prophets are on a level incomparably higher than that of the messenger of God in the Mari texts.

Our constantly increasing knowledge of the historical environment of the Old Testament raises anew, and with special urgency, a fundamental question. The history of Israel is linked up with the contemporary history of the Ancient East. The language of the Old Testament is, as we now know, not only not a holy language or a primitive human language, but not even the oldest sister in the family of oriental languages. Leaving out altogether the non-Semitic languages of the ancient east of very great age, we know that the language of the Old Testament is a relatively young member of the group of Semitic dialects. Also, it has turned out that the forms of divine worship in Israel, the cult with all its arrangements and actions, go back, in great part, to ancient and long traditions of pre-Israelitish Syria and Palestine. We now see that this historical limitation touches, at an even deeper level, the essential content of the Old Testament, and that the character of the prophet as the central mediator of God's word in the Old Testament has a history which lies outside Israel. Comparisons between tellers of fortune, givers of oracles, seers and ecstasies, and the Old Testament prophets have long been made, and in this way it is possible to explain and make intelligible certain features of the prophetic character. But such comparisons do not get to the heart of the matter which is that the prophets knew themselves to be messengers of God and as such formulated their sayings.

But now we are confronted by the unquestionable messengers

of God on the Mari texts, in an area which is historically connected with the later Israel. And the fundamental problem is by no means solved by the fact that the words of the Old Testament prophets are, in content, far more rich and far more spiritual and on a higher level than the utterances of the messengers of God on the Mari texts. The problem lies in the fact that increasingly, and now in a most essential point, the qualitative difference between the Old Testament and its historical and religio-historical environment is being wiped out, whilst from the standpoint of Biblical tradition the only apparent possibility in this matter is an Either/Or, a Yes and No, divine truth or human error, and, to Biblical tradition, it seems intolerable that there should be any connexion between the genuine word of God, in its immediacy and in its independence of human nature, and human-historical conditions.

Is, then, a connexion between God's word and the ever changing historical phenomena possible? Or is not the claim that the Old Testament gives us the pure word of God untenable once we allow that the content of the Old Testament, including its essential elements, has a history?

From the point of view of Biblical revelation, the question is not properly posed thus, and the alternative which has been indicated does not really exist. This is because, according to the Bible, God manifests himself in history just as in the sphere in which human life on this earth is lived, through the agency of characters and phenomena as they occur in history. The facts that the character of a messenger of God was traditional and was known in the historical world of Israel and that this character appears in the Old Testament prophets, are relevant in this connexion and make this circumstance intelligible. The Biblical Word of God encounters man in the world in which he lives, and accordingly he must be spoken to as man. There is no need for man in this world to detach himself from life and be superior to it in order to seek the way to God. What is more, he cannot do it. The Biblical faith is thoroughly unmystical. It is true that in the world of Old Testament experience ecstatic trances were not unknown, and the Old Testament prophets knew cases of this sort. But it is characteristic

that they never appealed to such inner mysterious experiences in order to prove that they were genuine. Rather, they suspected that the ecstasies were false prophets. And when they were asked for proof of genuineness, they said quite simply that they "were sent" as messengers of God.

Moreover, the Bible does not really make an essential division of the world into a sphere of Holiness, which is the godly sphere, and a sphere of unholiness, which is the sphere of all else in the world. It is true that the concept "holy" is, in the Old Testament, often used of cult objects, sanctuaries and holy cities, holy days, holy utensils and holy sacrifices. The holy was perilous and untouchable. But in such cases we are dealing essentially with a hang-over from some primitive traditions. Besides, in spite of the numerous cult regulations contained in the Old Testament, cult does not seem to be of first importance, indeed in Prophecy it appears as something at least problematic. It must be added that the Old Testament knew quite well that other peoples worshipped their gods in similar fashion, that it is a general religio-historical phenomenon in which Israel also participates for purposes of worship. But in its proper and original sense, the predicate "holy" in the Old Testament, belongs to God, and it is relatively rarely used of men, and then not in the sense of holiness indwelling in man himself, but in the sense of holiness ascribed to men or in the sense of an obligatory tie with God: "Ye shall be holy as I am holy" (Lev. xix., etc.).

According to the Biblical tradition God encounters man in the midst of the unholy, i.e. ungodly, world, and he makes use of historical circumstances of this world.¹ That is quite clear from the essential content of the Old Testament. If it is correct that the proper sphere of divination in the Old Testament is the history of Israel, that is tantamount to saying that the field of the operation of the word of God is the historically conditioned event, even in its minutest details. Thereby, and precisely on that account, is the genuine historicity of Israel strongly emphasised in the Old Testament. Israel was not from time immemorial. It first came into being within the world of old

¹ See G. Mensching, *Vergleichende Religionswissenschaft*² (1949), p. 66.

oriental peoples. It was not from the beginning in possession of the land which it later inhabited, but it came to possess it at a historical moment of time and by so doing displaced older inhabitants. It was never considered to be the hub of world events, the other peoples being on the rim. It had, humanly speaking, a past which was hardly brilliant. Its ancestors, the Patriachs, had once been semi-nomads. They were wandering shepherds, without estate and land, and were dependent on the superior power of the inhabitants of that time and place. Their descendants lived for a long time in the lowly condition of strangers in Egypt. In one passage in the Old Testament it is expressly stated that Israel was smaller and weaker than the peoples who had preceded them in the land, and accordingly much smaller and weaker than the powerful peoples in the wider circle of the ancient world. It is also added that Israel was no more honest and no better than other peoples (Deut. ix. 1, 4 ff.). It is clear from the Old Testament itself that Israel was one of the younger, smaller and less important peoples of world history. And it is just this sobriety of historical thinking that is the ground for the statement that in this insignificant portion of history God has operated and spoken uniquely, and that he has used the existing historical stature of the tribes and people of Israel in order to reveal himself.

As particular instances of this we may recall how God made use of the institutions that were to hand. In the matter of cult, for example. Here was a traditional cult system which had been definitely fixed through old cult and cultural traditions. This cult system must now serve to give a definite character to divine worship. It must now be filled with a content which bears the impress of the Old Testament Word of God, and at the same time run the constant risk of being used once more idolatrously.

We instance the institution of kingship. Kingship in Israel was founded—rather late—in a definite historical situation. It was modelled on kingship as known for a long time to other peoples (1 Sam. viii. 5). And this institution is not considered, as among other peoples, as a divine, eternal element of a world order which was itself valid for all time. It was understood as something that had come into being in historical times. God

made use of this institution, according to the Old Testament, in order to realise his purpose in the history of Israel. And, according to the Messianic proclamation, God will, at some future time, use that institution for a decisive operation. But the possibility was not excluded that kingship might continue to develop into a human autocracy.

Now it is to groups of facts of this kind that the religious-historical phenomenon of the messenger of God belongs. We know from the Mari texts that messengers of God were known in the pre-Israelite times, within the circle from which the tribes of Israel derive. According to the Old Testament, God made use of such in order that, at some fixed and decisive time in history, the word of God might be declared, announcing the imminent event and, at the same time, explaining it as a piece of God's purposeful activity. But God did not prevent the existence of false prophets who capriciously gave themselves out to be messengers of God. Because the fact is that all phenomena of human history are ambiguous, and it is not possible by means of external criteria to distinguish the genuine from the counterfeit.

The facts concerning the connexion between history and the Word of God as they appear in the Old Testament can be set out briefly. It cannot be proved that the Old Testament method of divine revelation, which makes use of given historical phenomena, stands higher than other methods. All that can be said is that it speaks to men in the world in which they actually live: in the world of history. More than that: it could not be proved that the Old Testament and the Bible generally do deal with what is truly divine revelation and with what is truly the Word of God. For that cannot be proved. It is right, in this context, to quote the Old Testament prophet who formulated his commission thus: "Thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the Lord Yahweh: they may hear or they may not . . . but they shall know that there hath been a prophet among them" (Ez. ii. 4 f.). And that word from the Gospel, that it can be "granted" to a man "to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God" (Luke viii. 10).

THE PLOT OF THE BOOK OF RUTH¹

By EDWARD ROBERTSON, D.Litt., D.D.

FORMERLY PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

THE Book of Ruth, like the other books of the Hebrew Canon, has been subjected to intensive scholastic dissection. This process is, of course, a necessary concomitant to any thorough-going study of a book of the Bible, and tribute must be paid to the many careful and exact scholars, Jewish and Christian alike, who have combed its text, isolated its features, attacked its problems and contributed so much to its understanding. But there is always the danger when dividing the whole into parts, of separating the parts from the whole and treating them as free—or at least, semi-free—units. We think—and this must serve as justification for our thesis—that there may still be something to learn from a fresh consideration of the book as a whole.

The place which the Book of Ruth occupies in the English Bible between the books of Judges and Samuel it owes to the Greek Bible of the Jews of Alexandria in which it occupies that place. In the Hebrew Bible it is found amongst the *Kethūbhīm*. Its place in the Greek and English Bibles is due to its narrative being concerned with the period of the Judges. Its opening words proclaim this fact. “And it came to pass when the judges judged”. . . . The Hebrew text literally translated is: “in the days of the judging of the judges”, which some Rabbinic opinion, as, e.g. Midrash Rabba, held to mean a period when the people judged their judges. The judges in question were held by various opinions to be Barak, Deborah, Edud or Shamgar. The Talmud attributed its authorship to Samuel, and Christian scholars of the first half of the last century regarded it as of early date. But since then the date has been gradually driven farther and farther downstream until, of recent times, one in or about the fourth century B.C. seems to find general acceptance.

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1949.

This date appears to be supported by the literary flavour and quality of the book and by its reference to customs which had passed out of use, and even of common knowledge, at the time of the writer. Traces, even if slight, of Aramaic influence point silently in the same direction. If the book loses by being later by centuries than the happenings it records, it yet gains by belonging to a time when Jewish literary consciousness was crystallising in great writing. Goethe expressed great admiration for the book. In his view the Book of Ruth can be regarded 'als das lieblichste kleine Ganze, das uns episch und idyllisch überliefert worden ist'.

If then we recognise, as I think we are compelled to do, that the Book of Ruth is of late date, is far removed in time from the events it portrays, and has, to all seeming, been fashioned under literary influences which elicited the graces of art in the development of both theme and style, we must expect to find—and cannot afford to ignore—the existence of fictional elements, and the much embellishing of fact to produce effect.

The scene opens with the vision for the reader of an ordinary Jewish family, father, mother and two sons, living peacefully in Bethlehem-Judah. A succession of meagre winter rains supervenes—so we may infer at least—which causes a dearth and induces, or it may be compels, Elimelech, his wife and family to betake themselves to Moab. What associations they may have had with Moab which determined that they should go there in preference to anywhere else, we are not told. It is not necessary that we should know, and the story, like other Old Testament stories, gives only the essentials.

Famine is here given as the cause of migration. War, pestilence, persecution, or even the seeking of an inheritance to dwell in, such as induced the Danites to seek a settlement in the northern corner of Palestine, were other implied or recorded causes of migration in the Old Testament. It was famine that led to Abram going down to Egypt, as it was the cause of the eventual settlement there of Jacob and his sons. Thus, famine could be an effective means in the hands of the Jewish narrator for moving the characters of his tale from one place to another. The well, on the other hand, was a convenient place to arrange

a meeting for characters whom it would be difficult otherwise to bring together, plausibly, by chance encounter. Thus, Abraham's servant meets Rebecca, and Jacob and Rachel are conveniently brought together, at the well. The 'gate' (*sha'ar*) is another convenient rendezvous, and it appears to be so used by the writer of the Book of Ruth. The word *sha'ar* has, however, a wider denotation in this book, as we all know.

Famine, then, whether actual fact or the device of the narrator, transports this Bethlehem family to the land of Moab. There misfortune overwhelms them. Elimelech dies, the sons marry Moabite wives, and within the short space of a decade, both are dead, leaving their mother, Naomi, with two foreign daughters-in-law. In its devastation, their tragedy is reminiscent of Job's series of afflictions. It was surely an unexpected, and in every way extraordinary, calamity which struck down the three male members of the family and them only. Another curious circumstance is that neither Mahlon nor Chilion left any family. Yet Ruth was not barren, as we learn from later events. Of Orpah we know nothing.

Has this situation been created by the author of the book? If not, then fate played in a most remarkable way into his hand. For the theme of the book is the upward struggle of a weak widow woman with the dice heavily loaded against her from a pit of despair to ultimate triumph. It is essential to the story, after the manner of the Book of Job, that the family should be plunged into dire distress—the direr the better. The picture of destitution must be painted as black as possible.

And it is black enough—not one widow but three. And the fate of Jewish widows and orphans was such that there had to be constant appeals to compassion in dealings with them, as exemplified in Hebrew legislation. And of the three widows, not one of them had offspring to whom she could look for present or future support. It was unnecessary for the writer to satisfy the curiosity of the reader by expatiating upon the situation. Its tragedy was there for all to see.

It was natural for Naomi, living amongst foreigners, to think now of returning to her former home in Bethlehem. Her roots could hardly be deep enough in Moab, and amongst friends, and

particularly kinsfolk, there was the possibility of that assistance which she so sorely needed. The writer makes it more easy for the reader to understand her decision. He tells us that Naomi had news that the dearth was ended and there was once more abundance in Bethlehem, since "the Lord had visited his people in giving them bread". This little aside is intended to forestall the query in the mind of the reader. Naomi left Bethlehem because of famine. Was she not taking a grave risk in returning, possibly to the same conditions?

In the course of the tale it emerges that Elimelech had some property, which it was in Naomi's power to dispose of, if she wished. It is not, however, given as one of the reasons for Naomi's decision to return.

Her daughters-in-law express a wish to accompany her. That too, was but natural. They were part of her family and probably shared the same home. It required no stressing to bring home to the reader that Naomi's daughters-in-law, both of Moab, would be only an embarrassment, and an added burden to her in the future she was envisaging for herself. She would have to make provision for them—get them husbands—and what chance had she of doing that? The only security for them lay in marriage—and they were foreigners as well as widows.

It was natural for the Jewish reader to think of a widow in the situation of Naomi, in terms of levirate marriage. What then was her position relative to this? It was a legal provision for the continuance of the family name that a man should, where necessary, marry his deceased brother's wife to raise a son to carry on the name of his brother. The writer must needs satisfy the reader on this point, and this he does do. He takes it up and discusses it by means of a conversation between Naomi and her daughters-in-law. Naomi is depicted as having this solution in the forefront of her mind, when she advises them to return to their former homes and remarry. They have no hope through her of the consolations of levirate marriage. She has no other sons to whom this duty would fall. She is now too old to bear children, and even if she could have borne them, was it to be expected that her daughters-in-law in their turn should refrain from marriage till the sons were full-grown?

Obviously there was no solution to the family difficulties in levirate marriage. Whatever solution *is* found, the reader is well and truly warned, it does not lie in that direction. Nor could the reader really expect it, for if it did provide a way out for Naomi the story would collapse at this point. The fact that escape for Naomi is thus cut off only adds to the hopelessness of her situation, and intensifies the interest and curiosity of the reader.

Naomi has been denied the benefits of levirate marriage by fate, but there was an instance in the story of the nation when a woman was denied the same benefits, not by the hand of fate, but by the whim of a diffident father-in-law. Everyone knew the story of Tamar and Judah. Tamar, in a less difficult position perhaps than Naomi, did not quietly accept rebuff, but used her ingenuity and her womanhood to triumph over Judah. Can Naomi succeed by the employment of similar means? That the writer has the story of Judah and Tamar very much in mind is made clear as the story develops later, by the words he puts in the mouths of the witnesses: "And let thy house be like the house of Perez whom Tamar bore unto Judah of the seed which the Lord shall give thee of this young woman" (iv. 12).

But marriage was almost the only road to security for a Hebrew woman of that time. If marriage is to provide the solution for the family difficulties, clearly it could not be achieved in the person of Naomi. From her there could come no offspring to re-establish the family name and the family fortunes. One or other of the younger women must play a part. The writer tells us Ruth clave to her mother-in-law. For him this was enough as it left him with the situation well in hand. The continued presence of the other would only deflect the main current of the tale into minor channels. Orpah has played her part in being the relict of her husband, an additional encumbrance to Naomi, and a foil to Ruth. The writer has no more need of her. So Orpah returns home and disappears from the pages of the narrative.

The writer makes the best literary use of the arrival of Naomi in Bethlehem to give final emphasis to her hopeless situation.

The home-coming is not a happy one for Naomi. Her troubles have so altered her appearance that the women she formerly knew have difficulty in recognising her. So wretched is Naomi that she is described as making a word-play on her name, whose root meaning was kindness, and suggesting that another name, *marah*, "the bitter one", would better describe her since the Lord had dealt so bitterly with her. Her grievous condition has brought her to such extremity as to impugn the justice of her God. In the eyes of the Old Testament writers, the female mind was more easily provoked to violent outburst. It was Job's wife who urged him to curse God and die!

Did Naomi return to the house and plot of land that was Elimelech's? We must infer from the later details of her story that she did so. The writer does not tell us, for it is not material to the narrative at this stage. It is true that there seemed to be no provision in the Jewish law of the time for widows to inherit property, but the daughters of Zelophehad made legal history by obtaining recognition of the right of daughters to inherit where there were no sons. There was always the possibility then that Naomi could have possessed the property in her own right before her marriage to Elimelech, when it would become his. The narrator does not think it necessary to discuss the matter. Since it was not impossible for Naomi to have possessed property, that was sufficient for his purpose.

There is no mention of Ruth in the description of the home-coming. She is taken for granted. It is Naomi's unhappy state which has to be emphasised. The real crux of the matter and the theme of the book, we must again remind you, is the manner and method in and by which Naomi with the odds so heavily against her, emerged triumphant from a situation so gloomily bleak and so utterly hopeless. Whilst Naomi has an added responsibility in Ruth's attachment to her—one of which she is made to appear anxious to relieve herself when she urged her to turn back with Orpah—Ruth is essential to the tale, for she, in her person, provides the only means for the preservation and continuation of Elimelech's family. Only by proper provision for Ruth through marriage with a near kinsman of Elimelech's could this be accomplished. But at this stage that

was not in sight. We are told, however, with a purpose, that the home-coming coincided with the beginning of barley harvest.

Then abruptly the writer tells us that Naomi had a kinsman of her husband's, a man of substance, named Boaz. By this introduction the reader, of course, recognises that Boaz is going to play a leading part in what follows. Here is the necessary relative to save Elimelech's family, and his name, from extinction. But how to bring Boaz and Ruth together? Not so easy under the conditions prevailing in the Judah of that time. And even if they were brought together it would not necessarily follow that Boaz would be anxious, or even willing, to marry Ruth. All material power in the Jewish community was in male hands, and womankind was rated low in the scale of importance. But Naomi, like Tamar, knew of a power which can bend men to woman's will—the power of sexual attraction. For Naomi was a woman, and to quote the words of a modern woman novelist describing one of her characters: "she was a woman, and knew best how to make use of that simple commonplace fact". The traditions of her people recorded several cases of its effectiveness. Through its exploitation Tamar achieved the end she had in view. Later Judith used the same power to serve her people, as also did Esther. That same power, but with less exalted motives, was used by Delilah to bend Samson to her will.

The interest of the reader having been duly aroused, the stage set, the characters introduced and the problem presented, the writer now proceeds to tell us how exactly Naomi solved it. We are shown Naomi and Ruth in desperate circumstances and Boaz in easy circumstances. The reader eagerly awaits the denouement. The significance of the mention of the barley harvest soon becomes apparent. Ruth at her own request and with Naomi's consent goes to glean in the harvest fields. Gleaning was a privilege of the poor and was permitted and supported by Jewish legislation. She will go forth trusting to find a field where she will be welcome. But the reader has already a feeling that the chance is going to be good and that this will be Ruth's lucky day. And sure enough, 'by hap' she lighted upon the field of Boaz. The reader is made to feel that this is no mere accident but is due to divine guidance, just as Saul was divinely

guided to a meeting with Samuel when following asses that had strayed. That this is in the writer's mind is made clear by the words he puts in Naomi's mouth when she learns of the day's happenings from Ruth and how she had chanced to glean in the field of Boaz: "Blessed be he of the Lord, who hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead". Naomi has her situation in mind and her problem—how she and Ruth were to live and how the family of the dead was to be preserved. With the volatility of womankind, Naomi has now turned her reproaches against the Lord into blessings! If it was Ruth's hap to light upon the field of Boaz, the reader recognises it as a good 'hap', fraught with all sorts of pleasant possibilities. Ruth in all this is a commendable figure. She comports herself with modesty, restraint and praiseworthy industry, coupled with the shyness and self-effacement which might be expected in a foreigner and a stranger to the locality.

The reader has been told that Boaz is a well-to-do man, and this is borne out by the writer's description of him. He has an overseer in charge of his reapers, and he himself merely makes a visit of inspection. As becomes a man of superior station he is polite and greets his harvesters politely. The effect on Boaz of his first encounter with Ruth is skilfully implied rather than described. Boaz is shown as being interested in her and attracted to her from the first. That is not stated in so many words, but his inquiries about her, addressed to his overseer, reveal it. He knows of her, of course, when told who she is, but he does not reveal his relationship to Naomi when speaking to Ruth. That he admits her claim on his generosity is evident from the orders he gives to his reapers to treat her well. The effect on his feelings is also disclosed in his inviting her to share the meal with him and his reapers, and in urging her to glean now-where else save after his reapers, to the end of the harvest. That he is an elderly man, and much older than Ruth is shown by the form of address, *bitti*, 'my daughter', which he uses towards her. It is a familiar address used by the elderly to the young. The reader is made to feel that the interest of Boaz in Ruth has been aroused. But it is not clear that it goes beyond that. It can be described only as a benevolent interest. The ice

has been broken. The distance between them has been diminished—but the behaviour of both is correct. Boaz maintains an air of superiority and condescension. And there the situation for the time being remains. The narrator does not think it necessary to expatiate on the progress, if any, of the romance. We are not told of further meetings and further conversations. The feelings of Ruth are not subject of special interest or concern.

In an age and in a community where woman was regarded as an inferior being, her feelings would be of no particular interest. That Boaz was free to marry is implied but not expressly stated. According to the Talmud: "On the very day when Ruth, the Moabitess, came to Palestine died the wife of Boaz" (*Baba Bathra*, 91 a). Very convenient and very dramatic! At any rate, there is no suggestion that any approach was made by Boaz to Naomi on the matter, for the impression left on us by Naomi is that she would have brought things to a head quickly if given but half a chance. Meantime the harvest continues, and the gleaning of Ruth behind the harvesters of Boaz presumably goes on. The reader is left with the uncomfortable feeling that time is passing and little progress is being made towards Naomi's goal. And now the harvest is over and the time of winnowing the grain is at hand. With the winter approaching, the prospect of the contact between Boaz and Ruth being sundered looms up ahead. Clearly something will have to be done and done quickly if Naomi's hopes and expectations are to blossom.

Obviously, Naomi must try some other expedient and force matters along. This is conveyed to the reader in Naomi's words: "My daughter, shall I not seek a settlement for thee, that it may be well with thee?" Naomi has her plan, a truly feminine plan; her mind is made up, and she has resolved to carry it out. She no doubt confides in her daughter-in-law the scheme she has formed. Boaz is the quarry and the hunt is afoot. If he cannot be induced to move in the matter of marriage of his own accord, there may be means of forcing him. If that could be accomplished, all Naomi's troubles might well be over and her problem solved. To bring about the marriage of Boaz and Ruth meant everything. To attain that end, any means

must have appeared to her justifiable. And when a woman like Naomi exercises her wits in a matter such as this she will go to any lengths to achieve her purpose. The reader is by this time convinced in his mind that Naomi will succeed. But it still raises for him the intriguing question, how can she, a lone widow, so heavily handicapped, ever hope to succeed?

The wheat harvest has come to an end and the winnowing of the barley is in process. The end of harvest, harvest home, is recognised in most agricultural communities as a time of rejoicing and festivity. It is a happy time for the harvesters, a time of gaiety and merrymaking, of junketing and the abandonment of all restraint. Hosea directs attention to the practices of the threshing floor. Speaking of Israel personified—as so often in the prophets—as a fickle woman, he says of her “that she loved the harlot’s hire on every threshing floor of corn”. He speaks of this in a manner that suggests the accepting of the harlot’s hire at the threshing floor as a practice well known and recognised, so much so that he can use it as a simile for Israel’s conduct—one that everyone could understand and appreciate. Such manners and customs were of the cultivated land and were no doubt part and parcel of the Canaanite civilisation. That there was licentiousness on harvest festival occasions he seems to want us to believe, and that the women who resorted to the threshing floors to join in the orgies received grain as hire or as gift—whichever term you prefer—is to be inferred from Hosea’s words. Grain is money in the country and more serviceable than coinage.

Naomi, as well as the whole countryside, knows of those practices, and she determines to turn them to advantage. She issues her instructions to Ruth. The writer is careful to emphasise that the responsibility for what is to follow rests squarely on Naomi. Ruth, he says, did all that her mother-in-law *commanded* her (*sivvathah*). Ruth expresses willingness to obey, but does nothing from choice. He is anxious to protect Ruth from possible censure for what she is about to do. Naomi now takes Ruth in hand. She is bidden make herself as attractive as possible—washing, anointing, and putting on her finest raiment—and go down to the threshing floor. She is to keep

away from Boaz until he has finished his merrymaking and has laid himself down to sleep it off. She is to mark the place where he lay, and in the darkness she was to go to him and then do what she had directed her to do.

When the swift eastern darkness had closed over the threshing floor and those who took part in the festivities had removed themselves from the immediate area, Boaz, too, who had eaten and drunk till 'his heart was merry', staggered to the end of the heap of corn and lay down in deep drunken slumber. In the darkness Ruth went to him. It would be well if we could draw a veil here and leave the scene—but we are not at liberty to do so. The narrator—or it may even be due to those Rabbis of a later age who laboured to remove indelicacies from the Hebrew text—has treated the subject so prudently and so delicately that the real import of Naomi's instructions to Ruth has escaped notice. There can be little doubt however, having regard to the euphemistic use of the Hebrew word *reghel*, what (the) *margelōthāv* of the text really means.

Boaz awakens from his drunken sleep and discovers Ruth's presence. She explains that she is there with him because he is her *gō'ēl*. She speaks of herself as his '*āmāh*', which may merely be a polite form of self-depreciation before a superior. She invites him to 'cast his skirt over her'—in other words to marry her. The full significance of the crude phrase of *paras kanaph* is made clear from Ezekiel xvi. 8, where it has that meaning.

Boaz is both pleased and flattered, and commends her for what she has done, revealing by his repeated reassurances his recognition of the seriousness of Ruth's offence against the accepted canons of conduct. He is almost fulsome in the protestations of his belief in her innocence. Indeed, he protests overmuch. He describes her conduct as more commendable even than her devotion to Naomi, praiseworthy as that was. He is at pains to reassure her that he is not disposed to misinterpret her action. He does not regard her as a woman of light virtue, for everyone knows she is of good repute. Had she consulted her inclinations instead of acting from a sense of duty, she would have attached herself to a younger man. He then

urges her to remain there for the night. (The word used in the text is *lūn*—an ameliorative term under the circumstances). Although she has come to him inviting him to marry her on the score that he is her *gō'ēl*, there is in fact a nearer kinsman. If he will act the part of guardian in the way she wishes, well and good. If not, he himself will assume the responsibility. In any case she will be provided for and can remain where she is with an easy mind till morning.

Ruth has made a mistake in appealing to Boaz as her *gō'ēl*. That might be a mistake, natural enough in Ruth, but Naomi should have known, indeed, must have known, better. The reader is left to assume that Naomi would know, but it suited her purpose to be ignorant, or at least to encourage Ruth to use it as an excuse for her conduct. That Ruth had no claim on either Boaz or the nearer kinsman to marry her must be inferred, since obviously Naomi would ere this have claimed her legal rights. There would, then, have been no need to stoop to the device she was forced to employ.

Ruth remained with Boaz. She arose to depart before the light was sufficient for a man to recognise his neighbour. The official test for break of day was when the light was sufficient to distinguish a white thread from a black. Boaz was naturally anxious that it should not be spread abroad that Ruth had passed the night with him at the threshing floor. According to the Syriac version it was Ruth who felt concern. It reads: "And she said, 'Let it not be known that I came unto thee'". In any case it was not too dark to prevent Ruth receiving six *seahs*, or it may be six *omers*, of barley. The Hebrew text has only 'six barleys', and Jewish literalists have seen the six grains of barley as symbols of many things—thus amongst others that six righteous men, each possessing six outstanding virtues, would arise from her. Others, like Bar Kappara, held that he gave her six barley grains in order to betroth her. There would appear to be substance in the betrothal idea. Boaz seems to imply that when he says in giving it: "Go not empty to thy mother-in-law".

Ruth returns to her mother-in-law to be greeted with: "Who art thou, my daughter"? On the face of it, it seems

strange that Naomi should not recognise Ruth when she returns home—but perhaps it is only the writer's way of telling us that Ruth contrived to reach home so early that in the darkness or half-light her mother-in-law failed to recognise her. The expression *bitti* would be the natural greeting of an elderly woman to one much younger, even if a stranger—as witness Boaz' use of the same form of address in the same way.

The question arises: how comes it that the *gō'ēl* is here brought into association with marriage? The duties or obligations of the *gō'ēl* nowhere seem to be closely defined. It would appear that he was the trustee, the guardian to whom those he protected looked for the preservation of the family fortunes.

As such, it might devolve on him to see that a suitable marriage was arranged for Ruth. A go-between was necessary to complete arrangements for the marriage of a Jewish maiden to some suitable spouse. This duty would naturally devolve on a near male relative. It may be there is the underlying suggestion here that Boaz, as *gō'ēl*, should have undertaken this duty for Ruth. Having failed to do so, his position anent Ruth could be likened to that of Judah anent Tamar. Judah by his neglect had denied Tamar marriage, so Boaz by *his* neglect was denying marriage to Ruth. It was fitting that his neglect should be brought home to him in the same way as to Judah. But, whatever the explanation, Ruth can make the *ge'ullah* the excuse for her conduct on this occasion.

When Ruth returns home with the barley she quotes Boaz' words that he was not giving the barley to her—an act that under the circumstances might well be misinterpreted. As sent to her mother-in-law it could only be understood as a present supporting an offer of marriage. Boaz no doubt perceived in Ruth's actions the guiding hand of Naomi.

At this point there is clearly a gap in the sequence of events as they are narrated. There should now have come an account of the meeting which would necessarily take place between Boaz and Naomi. The story clearly demands this. How otherwise could Boaz know that Naomi was willing to sell her property, or from what source, otherwise, could he obtain his power of attorney to act on her behalf? Agreement between the two on

financial arrangements and on the date of the marriage would be necessary. For various reasons the marriage must be immediate. It must appear also to have come about in a natural way. The hasty marriage of a man in Boaz' position with a dowerless Moabitess might well occasion talk and provoke scandal. Is there not the proverb of Solomon which the man of Hezekiah, King of Judah, copied: "The words of the whisperer are as dainty morsels, and they go down into the innermost parts of the body" (Prov. xxvi. 22). Boaz and Naomi must, also, have agreed that Naomi's property should be sold and that Ruth's hand in marriage would go with the property. That would be a condition of sale. The purchaser must be prepared to marry Ruth. The one difficulty that lay ahead was that the nearer kinsman as *gō'ēl* had the first option on the property. Was he likely to buy the land, to purchase the property with that condition attached? Boaz and Naomi no doubt had reasons for believing that he would not—otherwise we may be sure they would not have persevered with the project. The nearer kinsman must be induced to surrender his option—in other words his right as *gō'ēl*—to Boaz. Thus on the morrow of the contretemps at the threshing floor the meeting of Boaz and Naomi would take place, their plans would be laid, and action taken to carry them out. All this is not mere conjecture. It is based on the events which followed. Boaz departs to execute the stratagem and Naomi returns to her anxious daughter-in-law to tell her: "Sit still, my daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall; for the man will not rest until he have finished the thing this day." She knows the position, the urgency, and Boaz' attitude.

Has all reference to a meeting of Naomi and Boaz been suppressed by the writer purposely? That seems quite probable. Had details of this meeting been given it would have robbed the encounter of Boaz and the nearer kinsman of all, or almost all, piquancy. As it is, the reader goes forward to the meeting of these two uninformed and brimful of curiosity.

With his plans prepared Boaz proceeds to the place of justice, perhaps in the market place, for that is probably the meaning of *sha'ar* here. He set himself down there, waiting for the nearer

kinsman to pass by. He no doubt had an inkling of his movements and when and where he could expect to find him. He invites him to discuss a matter of business in the presence of witnesses. Boaz then informs the nearer kinsman that Naomi is anxious to sell the land which belonged to her husband Elimelech. He, the nearer kinsman, is the *gō'ēl*. Is he willing to act in that capacity and buy it to prevent it passing out of the family, for such is his privilege? He has first option on purchase, whilst he, Boaz, comes next. If the nearer kinsman will not take up his option, then he (Boaz) is prepared to do so in his place. The *gō'ēl* promptly indicates his willingness to purchase and having done so in the presence of witnesses, the property would become legally his, as it would in any normal transaction. This denouement, so little hoped for by the reader, who has been left in the dark about the plans of Boaz and Naomi, adds greatly to the drama of the narrative, and keeps him on tenterhooks. It is made to appear that the romance which he has seen developing with the prospect of a happy marriage so near, seems likely after all to be rudely shattered. But Boaz now plays his trump card. He reveals the hidden conditions attaching to the sale. He explains that Naomi is indeed selling the land, but only on condition that the purchaser marries Ruth. The nearer kinsman is nonplussed. He hadn't bargained for this. The newly revealed conditions are not at all to his liking. He quickly excuses himself on the ground that its purchase would mar his own heritage. This might of course have been for domestic reasons, as is generally urged, but we need not read into the repudiation more than the narrator possibly intended to convey. It was probably the first thing that came to the nearer kinsman's mind. Under the circumstances one excuse was as good as another.

The nearer kinsman is glad to seek the way out which Boaz had so obligingly but cunningly offered him beforehand. He is glad to transfer the property which he had undertaken to purchase with all the redemption rights and obligations of the *ge'ullah* to Boaz, who in the presence of the witnesses purchases the property on the terms stipulated. He has in effect purchased Ruth with the property. And this he makes clear to all present.

"Ye are witnesses this day that I have bought all that was Elimelech's and all that was Chiliōn's and Mahlōn's of the hand of Naomi. Moreover, Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlōn have I purchased (*qānīthī*) to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren, and from the gate of his place : ye are witnesses this day."

Boaz finishes on a heroic note. He is comparing himself to the levir who takes upon himself the responsibilities and obligations of a levirate marriage. His marriage to Ruth is thus rescued from sordidness—and Boaz shines in the role of a noble benefactor. It is all very cleverly done. The writer even introduces a further suggestion of levirate marriage. When the widow's brother-in-law refused to perform the duty of levir, his shoe was forcibly removed by the widow who also spat in his face. On this occasion the nearer kinsman, when renouncing the *ge'ullah* removed his shoe to give it to Boaz. That, says the narrator, was "the custom in former times in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging, for to confirm all things, a man drew off his shoe and gave it to his neighbour". The whole is a parody of levirate marriage well-sustained to the end.

Naomi had triumphed. Ruth was provided for, but whether the family name of Elimelech was destined to be preserved, only the future could show. Naomi's complete triumph came when Ruth's son was laid in her arms, and the women, her neighbours, said, "There is a son born to Naomi". Surely no one deserved the implied compliment more. Here in the person of the child was the continuation of the family assured. He was the restorer of its life. And the women, too, said to Naomi, "Blessed be the Lord which hath not left thee this day without a near kinsman, and let his name be famous in Israel. And he shall be unto thee a restorer of life and a nourisher of thine old age : for thy daughter-in-law which loveth thee, which is better to thee than seven sons, hath borne him." Thus was born Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David.

The plot of the Book of Ruth has been cleverly conceived and skilfully executed. If it is founded on fact its manner of presentation has given scope for an able writer to display his

literary talent. Throughout the book he exhibits a strong sense of the dramatic which is reflected in the portrayal of his scenes and his characters. There are three characters in the book around whom everything revolves: Naomi, Ruth, Boaz—but particularly Naomi. She is the central figure. It is not too much to say that the book would have borne the name Naomi more appropriately than Ruth.

The language used by Naomi, Ruth and Boaz is quite unlike anything we should expect from country people of their position and education in the time of the Judges. It is permissible to expect the utterances of such people to be given in cultured Hebrew by the writer for the purposes of the narrative, but even with that concession, it is difficult to convince ourselves that the characters of the book are consistent with the roles they play. They act reasonably well, but underneath their rustic garb they are educated townees. It may be that that is what the writer intends them to be—but if so, the countryside is not their proper setting.

The scenery that backs the stage is well painted. It reveals the golden grain and the sunlight, the harvest and the winnowing, the reapers with their merry voices and the gleaners with their hard toil and pitiful reward. The speeches of the three main characters have all been drafted to stir the emotions of an audience in response to their histrionic declamation, even if the audience is but the silent body of readers—Naomi urging her daughters-in-law to return home and painting the hopelessness of a future in her company—Ruth rejecting the counsel and dramatically asserting her resolve to cleave to her mother-in-law, who at that stage most evidently did not want her—Naomi addressing the women at her home-coming—Boaz addressing Ruth in the harvest field: “The Lord requite thy deed and may thy reward be complete from the Lord, the God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to take refuge”. It is, perhaps, significant that the highly poetic conception of “taking shelter in the shadow of the wings of the Lord” occurs six times elsewhere in the Old Testament, and all in the Book of Psalms. The writer of the Book of Ruth no doubt thought it fitting to put the phrase on the lips of the great grandfather of David, from

whom David might thus be presumed to have inherited his poetic talent. The exhortations of the elders, a sort of male chorus, are appropriate only to the stage. The women, too, in their final salutation to Naomi are reminiscent of a Greek chorus.

Ruth's well-known response to her mother-in-law vowing that she will never leave her, and that death alone could part them, suggests part of some ancient marriage service—the vow taken by the bride to follow the fortunes of her bridegroom: "Whither thou goest I will go; and where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people and thy God my God; where thou diest, I will die and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me and more also, if aught but death part thee and me." With marriage so much the theme of the book, and so much in the forefront of the writer's consciousness, it should not seem surprising that he chose to introduce a marriage formula, the words of which, though misapplied, were so well fitted to the situation he was describing.

Naomi walks the stage a lone, tragic, but solid figure. At first overwhelmed by misfortune, she appears to be embittered, inclined to rail at her fate, and blame the Almighty for neglect. Then comes the dawning of hope with the interest displayed by Boaz in Ruth. Soon she is in command of the situation and the events that follow are in response to her dictation. She reveals herself as a clever, capable, determined, stick-at-nothing woman, but warm-hearted, loyal, and with a strong sense of duty. Ruth is colourless. The fact that she is a foreigner assists in this impression. She is subservient before Boaz as befits her age and station, and she is clay in the hands of Naomi. She is a clinging vine. Her appeal to Naomi to permit her to go with her to Bethlehem would stamp her as someone out of the ordinary in mental equipment, were it not that the words she uses are so obviously borrowed.

The emphasis on Boaz is on his wealth. He walks in the countryside, but he is not of the countryside. He is a man of education and culture, of good social position and generally esteemed. He is farmer enough to mix with his men at their work and human enough to indulge in their revelries. He is,

however, outwitted by Naomi, who takes him at a disadvantage. When acting in conjunction with Naomi he shows himself a shrewd and knowledgeable man of business. He carries through the affair of marriage with Ruth in business fashion and emerges from what might have been a sordid and sorry situation with all the credit and acclaim that usually go only to one who has rendered a great public service at much cost to himself.

As we have already observed, the writing of the Book of Ruth has given scope for the literary talent of an unknown Jewish writer. He has given form and life and character to figures which may have been little more than names in the story of his people. Here is an early and perhaps the earliest instance of the historical novel—or should we say novelette? Under his skilful fingers the dry bones take on flesh, and the figures breathe and move. He knows and employs all the devices of literary art—the proper choice of diction, the regular employment of colloquy, the exploitation of the intriguing situation, the cunning interplay of the forces which find expression in human conduct, the dramatisation of the emotions of fear, pity, love, despair, joy, triumph, contentment. He knows how to use effectively the stimulus of curiosity and the thrill of suspense. He can make effective use of contrast—the famine of the leave-taking and the abundance that greets the return—the going out full and returning empty—the contrast in the characters of Ruth and Orpah—the destitution of Naomi and the wealth of Boaz—Boaz, the proud lord of the harvest field and Boaz in drunken slumber at the threshing-floor—the keenness of Boaz to marry Ruth and the indifference of the nearer kinsman—the contrast of Ruth as an anticipated burden and Ruth who brought salvation.

Indeed, the whole book is an interesting mixture of sunshine and shadow, of the gay and the grim. The sunshine falls on the joyous landscape where the Lord has restored abundance to his people. The shadow rests heavily on the life of a lone widow, deprived of all that makes life worth living, returning forlorn from foreign parts in embittered mood, to a home where she is hardly recognised. And the book is the story of her upward climb to the sunshine.

If the story of the Book of Ruth is founded on a tradition,

as we should expect it to be, what would be the basic facts on which the writer relied and on which he built? That a widow woman, hard hit by affliction, bereft of husband and sons, returned from Moab to Bethlehem-Judah accompanied by a Moabite daughter-in-law, for whom she contrived by her ingenuity to find home and settlement, and thus secured the continuance of a Jewish family whose existence was threatened, and that this tradition was further linked with national history in that the daughter-in-law was identified with King David's great-grandmother! Such may be regarded as the bare minimum. Less would reduce the whole story to fiction. How much above this minimum may be looked upon as coming within the realm of fact must depend on the credibility to be attached to the writer's portrayal of events. And there we are in the region of conjecture and surmise.

If we were to be asked whence we thought the writer drew his inspiration in shaping his plot, we should be inclined to reply—from three sources. In the first place he had the tradition to which we have just referred. In the second place, he had the tale of Tamar and Judah from which he drew much. In the third place, he had Hosea's reference to the "harlot's hire on every threshing-floor of corn". These three could provide him with all that he needed to fashion his story.

Observe how he has made use of the Tamar-Judah story. Tamar, denied the right of marriage—which meant so much to the women of the period—by the neglect of Judah to make that provision for her which was her legal right, took revenge by inveigling him into an association with her. And the popular opinion of the age laughed, and said in effect, "Serve him right". And Judah, to his credit, bowed to popular opinion and recognised the justice of her action. It was a good story which everyone enjoyed. That Tamar had any legal justification for her conduct I do not for a moment believe, yet Old Testament scholars have displayed extraordinary ingenuity in attempting to provide her with one. The writer equates his story of Ruth and Boaz, as far as he can, to that of Tamar and Judah. Ruth, he presents as a young widow deprived of the consolations of marriage, on which the fate of Elimelech's family depended. Unlike Tamar,

she has no claim on a brother-in-law in levirate marriage, for there is none. She has looked in vain to the *gō'el* for assistance in procuring a husband. He has not proffered help. Well, he, too, must pay for his neglect and in the same way as Judah. This appears to be Ruth's argument—or rather, Naomi's line of argument for *Ruth*. It is a reasonable deduction from the record of the happenings.

The problem of the writer was how to contrive a situation where Ruth and Boaz could be brought together as were Tamar and Judah. Tamar, disguised as a harlot, seated herself at the wayside and entrapped Judah. But that ruse could not be repeated with Boaz. Then he bethought him of Hosea's words about the harlot's hire on every threshing-floor of corn. It is not necessary for us to believe even that there were such orgies, although they may well have existed, for Hosea was probably using figurative language. But Hosea's utterance supplied him with the cue he wanted. The threshing-floor festivities provided both an excuse for Ruth to visit the place, and an occasion for the drunkenness of Boaz. That Boaz should be in a drunken stupor was essential for the purposes of the narrative. Thus in a plausible manner the two are brought together in the way desired by the writer and paralleled in the tale of Tamar and Judah.

There remains the moral aspect to consider, and in passing judgment on the characters of the book we are in all likelihood passing judgment on its writer.

We must not condemn Naomi by Christian moral standards for the manner in which she solved her problem and the means she employed. Public opinion of that age would certainly not have condemned her. *Autres temps, autres mœurs*. Ruth was a mere pawn in the game, and Ruth was a young widow, not a virgin. If any moral obloquy should fall on anyone, it must fall on Naomi, not Ruth. There are evident attempts to shield Ruth from possible hostile criticism or condemnation. The writer, we have already seen, was anxious to do this by stressing her complete subjection to her mother-in-law. And there is an interesting indication—or so at least it seems to me—that the Jewish guardians of the Hebrew text of a later age tried to divert

the very suggestion of guilt from Ruth. For in the text there are two significant *ḵethibhs* which bear on this point. When Naomi issues her instructions to Ruth prior to her departure for the threshing floor, she bids her : " thou shalt go ", and also " thou shalt lie down ". These are the *qerēs*, but the *ḵethibhs* make Naomi say : " I shall go ", and " I shall lie down ".

The narrator feels no need to apologise for, or to excuse the conduct of, either Naomi or Ruth. Far from being condemned, Naomi's methods were condoned and justified by the moral standards of the age and the land in which she lived. They were applauded as contributing to an achievement which merited recognition and deserved to be commemorated. The end justified the means. It was a woman's way of solving her problem. She had no other weapons to use in the struggle but womanhood, and of that she made clever and effective use.

And, permeating the book, as a sweet savour, is the deep satisfaction that all human nature the world over feels in the triumph of weakness over strength. It is the response to the cravings of the human heart beset by forces that bear heavily upon it—out of weakness being made strong—the weak things of the world confounding the things that are mighty.

HAND-LIST OF THE LEGH OF BOOTHS CHARTERS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., Ph.D.

KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS AND ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN IN THE
JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE documents listed below relate to the old Cheshire family of Legh of Norbury Booths Hall, near Knutsford, and its estates from the late thirteenth to the early nineteenth century. They were saved from destruction¹ last century by the antiquary Richard Henry Wood (1820-1908), a scholar associated for many years with local history studies in Cheshire and Lancashire, and now form part of the large and important manuscript collection which he brought together from many sources. A general survey of this collection, which was deposited in the Library in 1940 by Captain J. Hatton Wood, has been given elsewhere,² and it is perhaps sufficient here to notice that, in addition to the Legh charters, it is rich in monastic documents (twelfth-fifteenth century) and rare seals,³ and contains several royal grants (the earliest dating from the reign of Henry I), as well as a considerable number of miscellaneous deeds, mostly pre-1500, relating to some twenty-five counties. The Cheshire element of the Hatton Wood MSS., excluding the Legh charters, is comparatively small, numbering only thirty-six documents. Certain of these, however, are worthy of note, among them being eight thirteenth-century charters of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, five leases (1562-1647) from the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. John without the North Gate, Chester, a letter from Burghley to Edmund Gammell, late Mayor of Chester (Oct. 1586), the return made by Sir Hugh

¹ See Helsby's edn. (1882) of Ormerod's *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, i. pp. xxvi, 489 note a, 495.

² Taylor, *The Hatton Wood MSS. in the John Rylands Library* (1940), repr. from the Library BULLETIN, vol. xxiv.

³ Some of the more outstanding are described in Taylor, *Ecclesiastical, Monastic and Local Seals (12th-17th cent.) from the Hatton Wood MSS. in the John Rylands Library* (1947), repr. from the Library BULLETIN, vol. xxx.

Cholmondeley of money contributed by the Cheshire gentry towards a loan of 1597, and a group of miscellaneous charters, mostly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. With them may be noted a large folio volume of Cheshire pedigrees, the only codex in the collection. Dating from the seventeenth century, but with many later additions, this volume consists of one hundred and fourteen parchment leaves and is elaborately illustrated throughout with over one thousand five hundred emblazoned coats of arms. It formerly belonged to the Helsbys and contains signatures of various members of that family, from Randolph in 1640 to Thomas, the Cheshire historian, in 1866, as well as much material relating to their history, including transcripts of thirty-one charters and allied documents (thirteenth-eighteenth century).

The Legh charters themselves are not entirely unknown to the local historian. Leycester was unable to obtain access to them for his account of Bucklow Hundred (1672)¹ and Ormerod does not quote from them in his *History* (1819).² But when preparing the revised edition (1882) of Ormerod, Helsby's attention was drawn to them by Mr. Wood in a letter of 15th July, 1875,³ and there is evidence that he was consulting the collection at the beginning of 1876,⁴ if not in the preceding year.

¹ Leycester, *Hist. Ant.*, p. 301, where, at the conclusion of his account of Over Knutsford, he adds: "Here should follow the Descent of Legh of Booths: But because I was denied the Perusal of the Evidences, by Robert Venables, Esquire, younger Son of Peter Venables of Kinderton, Esquire, who hath married [Elizabeth] the Widow of John Legh, late of Booths, deceased [1660], I must omit the same; and therefore let Posterity blame him for it, and not me". Leycester states (*op. cit.*, p. 295), however, that "the original" of the charter of William, lord of Tabley, to his burgesses of Knutsford (no. 19 below) was in his possession.

² According to Helsby (*op. cit.*, i. (1882), p. 495) he "suffered a similar refusal". But he appends "the Descent of Legh of Booths", which Leycester was unable to include, quoting among his sources "information of John Legh, esq." (see Ormerod, i. (1819), p. 383).

³ Rylands Eng. MS. 422, no. 64a. (Ryl. Eng. MSS. 422-424 contain a collection of original letters to Helsby from various correspondents in connexion with this edition, together with notes and comments relating to the same.) For other assistance given by Mr. Wood see Helsby, *op. cit.*, i. (1882), p. xxvi.

⁴ Ryl. Eng. MS. 422, no. 66b. Rough transcripts of a few of the documents listed below occur *ibid.* 423, nos. 125-130, 160 and 424, no. 61.

The nature and scope of his work made selection unavoidable when dealing with particular collections, and it is hardly surprising to find that the Legh documents he cites number less than one-fifth of those listed below, including many to which he could give only a passing reference; as might be expected, he drew on the collection mainly for its information concerning Knutsford, Torkington and the family genealogy, although even here much had to be omitted. It should perhaps be added that his translations and abstracts are not always complete or accurate, and in this connexion it is interesting to note that he was several times admonished by Mr. Wood for working too hastily.¹ Where discrepancies have been found between his renderings and the originals, a note has been given below under the relevant document.

Helsby's opinion of the Legh charters was a high one, for he considered that they formed "probably now [1882] the most perfect collection . . . , relating to one family, in the county".² Whether or not one subscribes to this, it is a striking tribute from a scholar so well acquainted with Cheshire family archives, and there can be little doubt that, although not large in number and although confined almost entirely to muniments of title, it provides a valuable source for the local historian. Roughly half the collection dates from before 1500, six items only being post-1760. Documents relating to Knutsford (c. 1292-1804), Torkington (late Edw. I-1787), Mobberley (late Edw. I-1730), Rostherne (1296-1709) and Ollerton (late Edw. I-1809) predominate, but some twenty other places in the county are also represented. Among individual items of interest may be mentioned the charter of William, lord of Tabley, to his burgesses of Knutsford, c. 1292 (19 below); the grant to William de Mobberley of the vill of Knutsford, 1308 (26); the grant by Edward, earl of Chester, to Elena, widow of John de Legh, of a market and fair at Knutsford Booths, 1335 (35); Richard II's grant to John de Legh, 1398 (281); a letter of protection to James, son of John de Legh, kt., proceeding to Gascony, 1363 (42); a letter of attorney by John Tochet, Lord of Audley, to

¹ See Mr. Wood's remarks, Ryl. Eng. MS. 422, nos. 64a, 64b, 65a.

² Helsby's edn. of Ormerod, i. (1882), p. 497 note d.

John Heske and Adam Heske to receive thirds of certain goods and chattels acquired by his Lancashire and Cheshire soldiers during wars in South Wales, 1406 (329); rentals of Knutsford Booths, 1408 (55), Lostock Gralam, 1434 (190), and Over Knutsford, Nether Knutsford, Mobberley and Ollerton, late sixteenth to early seventeenth century (150); and a subsidy roll of Bucklow Hundred, 1501 (340). Court records are not numerous, but suit rolls for the manor of Over Knutsford *cum membris*, 1749-1752, 1754-1759 (187) occur, together with an estreat of amercements at the Court Leet for the same manor, November 1753 (186). Another feature of the collection is the information it provides concerning various early Cheshire mills, notably in the Knutsford area,¹ while the genealogist and, particularly, the student of place-names, will find much of value. Although most of the early seals are unfortunately missing or fragmentary, one fine heraldic example has survived, namely, that of John Tochet, Lord of Audley, 1406 (329). Another good example, also heraldic, is the seal of William de Thelewalle, the king's sergeant-at-arms, 1360 (17). Neither is recorded in the British Museum catalogue of seals.

As any original order had been disturbed beyond reconstruction, the documents have been arranged below on the system adopted by the Library in its previous Hand-Lists of deeds and charters; that is, chronologically within an alphabetical order of places. The spelling of place-names and surnames is preserved; cross-references to the modern spellings in the case of place-names will be found in the Index. An attempt has also been made there to separate the various members of the Legh family who occur; for this purpose the pedigree drawn up by Ormerod and expanded by Helsby² has proved invaluable. All references below to Ormerod's *History* are to the second edition of 1882, edited by Helsby.

¹ See the Index, s.v. Knutsford; also Mobberley, Ollerton, Rostherne, Tatton and Great Warford.

² Ormerod, *op. cit.*, i. (1819), p. 383; Helsby, *op. cit.*, i. (1882), pp. 499-500 and iii. pp. 892-893. Other pedigrees are given in Ryl. Eng. MS. 423, no. 121 and on f. 49 of the MS. volume of Cheshire pedigrees owned by the Helsby family, mentioned above. Notes on the Legh family occur in Ryl. Eng. MSS. 422, nos. 79-82 and 423, no. 174.

ANDERTON.

1. Bargain and sale by Thomas Stanley the elder of Alderley, esq., and Peter Stanley, gentleman, his son and heir, to Robert Venables of Northbury Bothes, gentleman, and Peter Wilbraham, gentleman, son and heir of Roger Wilbraham of Dorfold, esq., of Anderton Hall, a farm in Anderton and 2 messuages in Nether Alderley, with appurtenances. 14 Nov. 1662. 2 seals, missing.

BAGULEY.

2. Gift of Robert de Leghe, son of Robert de Leghe, to John, son of William de Bagl', of his manors of Bagl' and Lewenneshulme, which he had of John's feoffment, and of all rents and services of his free tenants of Bagl' for ever, with successive remainders to William son of John de Leghe and his heirs male; John, brother of the said William, and his heirs male; Geoffrey, brother of the said John, and his heirs male; Thomas son of Richard de Mascy and his heirs male; John son of Robert de Leghe and his heirs male; William son of Peter de Leghe and his heirs male; William son of John de Hyde, kt., and his heirs male; Robert son of Robert de Mascy of Kelsall and his heirs male; and the rightful heirs male of the said John, son of William de Bagl'. 7 June 1355. Late 15th cent. copy, with a *Memorandum* that this is a true cōpye of the dede wherby Sir John Legh of Baguley, knyght, . . . is intytled to the maners of Baguley and Leguenshulme of lynyall descēte as heyre male of the body of William, the seconde sone of John of Legh of the Bothes.

BUBNELL, CO. DERBY.

3. Indenture of agreement between Harry of the Bothe and William Pirton, of the one part, and John Johnson of Legh of the Bothis and Anne his wife, of the other, whereby John and Anne promise to restore to Bobanhill "ij gret bounden iron coffres, ij grete gardeviandes, a grete longe newe metetable, vj silver spones that were Annes Leches, ij pair shetes for gentlemen, newe", and all the muniments, evidences and deeds which they removed from the manor of Bobanhill; to swear "upon a boke" that they are making a true delivery of the said deeds and evidences and acknowledge that their removal of the above goods, deeds, etc., was wrongful and their entry into Bobanhill unlawful; not to enter into or enfeoff in the future, without due process of law, any lands, etc., belonging to Sir Roger Leche, Sir Philip Leche and the said Harry and William and to release all their right, etc., in the same; and to release to the two last named all manner of actions, etc., and pay them 40 marcs. 22 May 1421. 2 seals, missing. (Eng.).

Imperfect abstract in Ormerod, i. 495 note *b*, where the readings "Pwton" and "Robanhill" are perhaps misprints.

BOLLINGTON.

4. Gift by William son of Nicholas de Bolinton' to his son and heir Richard of all his land and his tenement in the vill of Bolinton, with appurtenances. *Hiis testibus Rogero de Wenables, tunc Rectore ecclesie de*

Rowthorn', Roberto de Mascy, Thoma de Legh', Iohanne de Legh', Willelmo de Mara, Eydrogo de Mulynton', Iohanne clerico, et aliis. n.d. [c. 1308]. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, i. 541.

5. Agreement between the above Richard and his father William, whereby the former leases to the latter, for 60 years from Pentecost 1308, all the land in the vill of Bolinton which the latter gave him [4 above]; rent, 3s. 1d. p.a. for all service save forinsec service; William to have the right to demise the same during the said term, except to a religious or to the chief lord; if he die within that term, the land is to revert to Richard and his heirs. n.d. [1308].

6. Gift by William son of Nicholas de Bolynton' to John de Legh' and Elena his wife of all his land, with appurtenances, in the vill of Bolynton' within the following bounds: beginning at *le Were*, then following the middle of the channel of the Bolyn, ascending as far as the bounds of *le Hewode* (excepting 2 acres which *dominus* Peter de Dutton holds), from there to the new acre of John de Legh', thence following a certain ditch to *le stanybrok'*, descending [*le*] *stanybrok'* to the land of Ralph de Clayton' under *le leghmos*, then to *le pekesmedusyde*, following this as far as *le Cropptedholler*, and from there to *le Were*; together with a meadow called *Ellotesmedu*, between the meadow of William del Mere and the meadow of Ralph de Clayton, and with all the land, with appurtenances, which Matilda, formerly wife of Richard, his [the grantor's] son, holds as dower within the said bounds. *Hiis testibus domino Hugone de Alta Lega, tunc Iusticiario Cestrie, Hugone de Dutton', Petro de Dutton', militibus, Ricardo de Fouleshurst, tunc vicecomite Cestrie, Willelmo de Bagley, Rogero le Cryour, Thoma de Legh, Hugone de Ruycroft, Iohanne le Harper, Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [c. 1312/18]. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, *loc. cit.*, with some slips. Helsby incorrectly translates "nine acres of John de Legh" (for "novam acram"), and "to the Were to what is called the Ellotesmedu", and misreads "Gropptedholler" for "Cropptedholler".

7. Quitclaim from Richard son of Hamon and Matilda his wife to John de Legh and Elena his wife of all their right, etc., in one third part of a meadow called *Longhey* near Bolinton which Matilda had as dower. 11 April 1316. 2 seals, missing.

Ormerod, *loc. cit.*, where Helsby incorrectly translates "all their claim to land called Longhey".

8. Letter of attorney from John de Legh and Isabel his wife to Thomas de Baggeleghe' to receive seisin of all lands and tenements which they have of the feoffment of Adam Drake and William del Ewode in Bolinton. 26 July 1343. 2 seals, missing.

9. Gift by Oliver de Legh, parson of the church of Davenham, and Roger Doumvyale, parson of the church of Lymme, to Richard de Dutton, parson of the church of Routhesthorn', and Richard Sydeswyrd, chaplain, of all those messuages, lands, etc., which they lately had of the feoffment of John de Legh of le Bothes in the vills of Bolyngton', zarewode and Routhesthorn', saving a water-mill in Routhesthorn' and Routhesthorn' Mere,

together with messuages and land in Ollurton' in the tenure of John Okes. 20 Jan. 1440. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, *loc. cit.*

10. Indenture of agreement between William Leighe, son and heir of John Leghe of Bouthes, esq., and Sir George Bouthe of Dunham Massye, kt. and bart., for a conveyance to the latter of 2 closes in Bollington (one named *Langley*) adjoining the high way leading from New Bridge to Bowdon. 10 Sept. 1614. Seal, missing. Counterpart.

11. Lease for 21 years by William Leigh, son and heir of John Leigh of Norbury Boothes, esq., to Thomas Leigh, his brother, of a messuage with appurtenances in Bollington. 28 April 1615. Seal, missing.

12. Lease by Peter Legh of Norbury Boothes, esq., to Anne Humphrey of Bollington, spinster, of a messuage with appurtenances in Bollington for life. 9 June 1679. Seal, missing. Counterpart.

GOOSTREY.

13. Gift of John de Lytelouer, chaplain, to William Kyncy and Matilda his wife of those 2 messuages with the adjacent lands which Ralph Gram and Benedict de Hawardyn' hold in Gosetre and Blakeden and which he has of William's feoffment; with remainder to William's rightful heirs. 13 May 1414. Seal.

14. Bond of Randulph Maynwar yng of Caryngeham, esq., Arthur Maynwar yng of Ightfeld, Salop, kt., and Laurence Swetenham of Somersford, gentleman, to John Lyegh of Bothes, kt., to keep an award [15 below] to be made in a dispute between the said Randulph Maynwar yng and Sir John Lyegh. 1 March 1549. Seals, missing.

15. Award in a dispute between the above two parties [14] respecting their claims to the towns of Gosetre, Chelford, Lyes and Cranage and all messuages, lands, etc., concerned in leases made to them by the late Abbot and Convent of the late Monastery of Chester and, after the dissolution thereof, by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chester. 31 March 1549. 4 seals, missing.

HALE.

16. Assignment from Laurence Ryle of Hale, husbandman, to Edward Leighe of Ashley, husbandman, of three closes in Hale named *the green field* and *the two stuttees* [?], for 21 years. 2 Ap. 1594. Seal, missing.

HALTON.

17. Gift by William de Thelewalle, sergeant-at-arms of the King, to Vivian de Thelewalle, his brother, of all his land and his tenement, with appurtenances, which he had by inheritance after the death of his mother Felicia in the vill and territory of Halton; of all his right, etc., in the said vill and territory by right of his said mother; and of a piece of land, which he had by inheritance after the death of his father William in the vill and territory of Thelewalle, lying between the tenement of Robert de Thelewalle towards the south, the water of Mersey, in breadth, towards the north, one end abutting on the tenement of William de Derwallescagh' towards the

west, and the other abutting on the tenement of William de Qwytel, in length, towards the east. 5 Feb. 1360. Seal (heraldic).

Ormerod, i. 747 note *b*.

IGHTENHILL, CO. LANC.

18. Admission of Peter Legh and Ruth his wife to a garden and closes at Briercliffe within the manor of Ightenhill. 15 Oct. 1689. (Extract from proceedings at the Halmot of the manor of Ightenhill.)

KNUTESFORD, ETC. *See also* ROSTHERNE.

19. Charter of William, lord of Tabeley, to his burgesses of Knotisford. *Hiis testibus Domino Ricardo de Massy, Willelmo de Modb', Willelmo de Maynwaryn, Rogero de Toft, Ade de Tabeley, et multis aliis.* n.d. [c. 1292.] Seal, missing.

Printed in full in Leycester, *Historical Antiquities*, p. 295; Ormerod, i. 488.

20. Gift by William de Tabbillegh', lord of Knutesford, to John de Legh and Elena his wife of 14 selions of land with appurtenances in Northburibothes and Knutesfordebothes; to have, etc., to them and the heirs or assigns of the said John of the chief lord, freely, etc., with common of pasture within the bounds of Knutesford, saving to William and his heirs agistment of water at his mill of Knutesford; rendering to the chief lord the services due and accustomed, and to William and his heirs a pair of gloves or 1d. p.a. at Midsummer. *Hiis testibus Hamone de Mascy, Ricardo de Mascy, militibus, Willelmo de Modburlegh', Thoma de Legh', Rogero de Toft, [Ade] de Talbillegh' [sic], Willelmo de Mara, Iohanne de Lostok', Roberto persona medietatis ecclesie de Lymme, et aliis.* n.d. [c. 1294.] Seal, missing.

This charter is slightly imperfect. Helsby (Ormerod, i. 494-95) reads, incorrectly, "a pair of gloves or 7d. p.a." [Ade] has been supplied from the copy enrolled on no. 326 [iv] below.

21. Gift by John de Grey, son of Reginald de Grey, to John de Legh' and Elena his wife of all his lands and tenements with appurtenances in Northburi Bothes and Knutesfordbothes. *Hiis testibus Hamone de Mascy, Radulfo de Vernon, Hugone de Venables, Ricardo de Mascy, Ricardo de Sandbach' et Iohanne Boydel', militibus, Philippo de Eggerton', Alexandro de Baumuell', Thoma de Legh', Iacobo de Pull', Willelmo Dayneers, Ranulfo de Hulfeld, et aliis.* n.d. [1297.] Seal, missing.

Cf. Ormerod, i. 495. A copy is enrolled on no. 326 [i] below.

22. Letter of attorney to Adam de Tabbillegh to deliver seisin of the same [21]. 20 Oct. 1297. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, *loc. cit.*

23. Quitclaim by William de Tabelegh' to John de Legh' and his heirs or assigns of all his right, etc., in all lands and tenements with appurtenances in Knotusfordebothus and Nortburibothus. 23 Aug. 1300. Seal, missing.

24. Grant by Adam de Urmeston' to John de Legh' of 20s. *de camera mea*, to be received twice yearly, at Midsummer and Martinmas, in equal portions, for the lives of both of them; with right of distrain. *Hiis testibus Hugone de Dutton', Rogero de Chedle, Petro de Dutton', militibus, Roberto de*

Mascy de Routhestorn', Thoma de Legh', Willelmo de Baggeleghe', Willelmo de Caryngton', Roberto de Mascy de Sale, Roberto de Ayliston', Roberto de Kenorthey, Iohanne de Boudon', Rogero le Crior', et aliis. n.d. [Edw. I]. Seal, missing.

25. Charter of John de Legh' and Elena his wife to William [? Dale] respecting a mill, apparently in the territory of le Bothis on *Wylebrok*. *Hiis testibus Willelmo de Modburleg', Willelmo de Meynwareing, Ade [? de Tabeley, . . .]nton', Roberto de Vernon, Willelmo fratre suo, Willelmo de Tofte, Iohanne clerico, et aliis. n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II]. 2 seals, missing.*

Imperfect, almost the entire upper half and most of the left half lacking. Endorsed, in a contemporary hand: *Molendinum de Babrinchall'*.

26. Grant by William de Tabeleg', lord of Knotesford, to William de Modburleg' of the whole vill of Knotesford with all appurtenances, markets, fairs, liberties, etc., saving the mill; for 10 years, beginning Midsummer 1308; rent, 50s. p.a., at the two terms of the year in equal portions; if the said William de Tabeleg's mother die within that period then he grants to the said William de Modburleg' all her dower, saving her dower of the mill and excepting the houses [*sic*] in which she lives, with an adjacent croft, the said William de Modburleg' to render for the said dower 30s. p.a. at the above terms; if within that period the said William de Tabeleg' alienate the whole of the said vill, then, into the hands of whomsoever it may devolve, it is to be bound to the said William de Modburleg' in 10l. silver to be paid yearly at the said terms; if he assign or alienate any part of it, that part is to be let to farm to the said William de Modburleg' at the supplication of the part thus assigned or alienated. *Hiis testibus Roberto de Macy, Iohanne de Legg', Thoma de Legg', Rogero de Tofte, Ade de Tabeleg', Henrico de Modburleg', Thoma clerico, et aliis. n.d. [1308]. Seal, missing.*

Cf. Ormerod, i. 490 note c, where an abbreviated version is given.

27. Final concord, at Chester, between William de [? Dene], chaplain, plaintiff, and John de Legh and Elena his wife, defendants, respecting lands, messuages, three parts of a mill, woods, etc., with appurtenances in Knottesfordbothes, Norbury Bothes, Knottesford and [Roust]hesthorn'. Tuesday after the feast of [*stained*], 9 Edw. II [1315/16]. Imperfect and stained.

Cf. Ormerod, i. 497.

28. Confirmation by Robert, son of John Hurne, to Yockyn de Dutton' of 2 burgages which Robert had of his father's gift in the vill of Knotesford, lying between the burgages of Thomas Snoubal' and Gilbert Tailor [*Cissor*]; rent, 18d. p.a. to the chief lord at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. *Hiis testibus Domino Rogero de Venables, Rectore ecclesie de Rousthorn', Iohanne de Legh', Rogero de Toft, Iohanne de Bexton', Iohanne de Aula, tunc maiore ville de Knot', Thoma Snoubal, Elya Rotar', Ade fratre eius, Iohanne Coco, Rogero filio Iordani, Ade filio Walteri, Roberto clerico, et aliis. n.d. [c. 1298/1319]. Seal.*

Leycester (p. 299) quotes this deed, with some omissions, from a copy. Helsby (Ormerod, i. 491), who compared his copy with the above original, omits the last three witnesses.

29. Grant by William, son of William de Tabbeleghe', to John de Legh'

and Elena his wife and the heirs of the said John, for ever, of full license and power to have suit of all burgesses, tenants, or farmers of the vill of Knotisford grinding corn of all kinds, malt and oats at John's mill of le Bothes when William's mill of Knotisford does not suffice ; if any of the said burgesses, etc., go to or grind their corn at any mill other than that of le Bothes when William's mill of Knotisford does not suffice, then the toll shall be made good to John, Elena or John's heirs by William and his heirs. 5 Sept. 1321. Seal, missing.

The witnesses include Richard de Foulishurst, Sheriff of Cheshire. An imperfect version is given in Ormerod, i. 495 note *a*.

30. Gift by John de Legh and Elena his wife to Stephen le Hayward of a burgage in Knotesford Bothys lying between the burgages of Henry le Barker and William le Walker ; to have, etc., with all liberties, etc., with haybote and old wood lying in the wood of le Bothys, at the inspection of the woodman of the said grantors, and with sufficient turbary within the bounds of le Bothys ; rent, 2s. 6d. p.a., at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. *Hiis testibus Thoma de Legh, Rogero de Toft', Iohanne de Bexton', Iohanne de Aula, Elya Rotar', Henrico le Barker, Thoma Lilicok', Willelmo filio Honde, Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II]. 2 seals, missing.

31. Gift by Thomas, son of William le Reve, to John, son of Stephen Reaper [*Messor*], of a house with curtilage lying between the burgages of Richard Kiltyng' and William del Dene, within bounds constituted by the said Thomas, together with 4½ selions in *le Oldefeld* in the vill of Knotesford ; rent, 2s. p.a. to the chief lord at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, and 2s. to the said Thomas, his heirs or assigns ; John is not to sell or alienate the same. *Hiis testibus Iohanne de Legh', Iohanne Gleyue, Thoma Snoubal, Thoma Lilicok', Ranulfo Amelye, Thoma Cissore, Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II]. Seal, missing.

Summarised in Ormerod, i. 491 note *c*, where *Roberto clerico et aliis* is omitted and *Allcok* misread for *Lilicok'*.

32. Gift by Adam Hurne to John de Legh' and Elena his wife of 1½ selions lying next to the said John's land and belonging to the burgage which Adam Baker [*Fornarius*] formerly held in the field of *Walleclif* in the vill of Knotesford. *Hiis testibus Thoma de Legh', Rogero de Leycestr', Adam [sic] de Tabeleg', Magistro Rogero de Aldrideleg', Roberto Wade, Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II]. Seal, missing.

See Ormerod, i. 491 note *c*. A copy of this gift is enrolled on no. 326 [x] below.

33. Gift by Hugh de Yokyssale to Elena de Legh and John her son of 2 burgages formerly belonging to Robert, son of John Huyrne, in the vill of Knotisford, lying between the burgages of Thomas Snoubal and Henry Tailor [*Cissor*] ; rent, 18d. p.a. to the lord of the vill at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. 29 May 1322. Seal, missing.

34. Gift by John de Rode and Margery his wife to Elena, who was wife of John de Legh, her heirs and assigns, of a burgage with appurtenances in the vill of Knotisford, lying between the burgages of Thomas son of William son of Amelye and Henry son of Thomas le Wordehewer [*sic*] ; rent, 12d.

p.a. to William de Tabbeleghe' and his heirs, and 5s. to Roger de Holleford and Margery, his wife, and their heirs, when the other burgesses pay their farm. *Hiis testibus Rogero de Toft, Iohanne de Bexton', Roberto de Oundeclieu, Willelmo de Munschull', Thoma Snouball', Thoma Lilicok', Gilberto de Legh', capellano, et aliis.* n.d. [early Edw. III]. 2 seals, missing.

35. Grant by Edward, Earl of Chester, the King's son, to Elena, who was wife of John de Legh', that she and her heirs may have for ever a weekly market at Knotesfordebothes in the fee of Halton' on Wednesdays and a yearly fair there for two days, namely, on Tuesdays and Wednesdays in Whit-week, unless the said market and fair prove a nuisance to those in the neighbourhood. *Hiis testibus dilecto nobis in Christo Willelmo, Abbate Sancte Werburge Cestrie, Willelmo de Clinton, Iusticiario nostro Cestrie, Magistro Iohanne de Burnham, Thesaurario nostro, Simone de Ruggeleghe', Camerario nostro Cestrie, Iohanne de Ardene, Willelmo de Mascy, Galfrido de Werberton', Willelmo de Baggeleghe', militibus, Iohanne de Codynton', clerico, et aliis.* Chester, 18 May 1335. Seal, missing. With an English translation of 13 May 1626.

See Ormerod, i. 494 and note b.

36. Feoffment by Elena, who was wife of John de Legh, in her pure widowhood, to John de Massy, Rector of the church of Seofton' [sic], and William de Clyfton', chaplain, of her manor of Norburybothes and Knotesfordbothes with appurtenances, her water-mill in the same manor with suit and the pond, and an acre of land, for agistment of the water and an attachment of the mill, which she has of the feoffment of John de Ardern in Mobburlegh'; of 4 messuages with appurtenances in *le Oldton'* of Knotesford; of 2 messuages with appurtenances in the vill of Ollerton' with the third part of a water-mill there, together with the reversion of all lands and tenements which Robert Vazan holds for life in that vill; of a messuage and 30 acres of land with appurtenances in the vill of Mobburlegh' which she has of the feoffment of Richard Fyket, and a messuage and 12 acres there which she has of the feoffment of Thomas de Stathum; of 3 selions in the same vill which she has of the feoffment of Laurence, son of Thomas de Mobburlegh'; and of her manor of le Mersch, with a moiety of the whole vill of Rouyestorne. 31 March 1350. Seal, missing.

Endorsed: *The feoffment . . . whereupon the taylor to the heyres males is grounded* (16th cent.).

37. Quitclaim by John de Legh', son of the above Elena, of all his right, etc., in the same [36]. 9 May 1350. Seal, missing.

38. Gift by Robert Aspewalle, chaplain, to Richard, son of William de Baggeleghe', of 2 burgages with appurtenances in Knotesford which he has of the feoffment of William Pecok', chaplain. 27 May 1350. Seal, missing.

39. Grant by the above John de Massy and William de Clyfton' [see 36 and 37 above] to the above Elena of their manors of Knotesford Boths, Norburyboths and le Mersch with appurtenances; a moiety of the whole vill of Rouyestorne, a water-mill in the manor of Norburybothus and an acre of land with appurtenances in Modburlegh' which is an attachment of the mill-pond; 4 messuages with appurtenances in Oldeknotesford; 2 messuages, 18 acres and the third part of a water-mill with appurtenances in

Olerton'; and 2 messuages, 42 acres and 3 selions with appurtenances in Modburlegh'; they also grant that 4 messuages, 40 acres of land and 40 of heath and moss with appurtenances in Olerton' which Robert Vazhan holds of them for life shall remain to Elena; to have, etc., to Elena for life, by the service of a rose at Midsummer, with successive remainders to John de Legh', kt., and Isabel, his wife, for their lives; to James, son of the said John and Isabel, and his heirs male; to William, James's brother, and his heirs male; to John, William's brother, and his heirs male; to the heirs male of the said John de Legh', kt., and Isabel; to William, brother of the said John de Legh', kt., and his heirs male; to Robert de Legh', the said William's brother, and his heirs male; to the heirs male of Peter de Legh' [Robert's brother]; and to the rightful heirs male of the aforesaid John de Legh, kt., for ever. 23 June 1350. 2 seals, missing.

Endorsed: *Thentaile to the heyres males* (16th cent.). The witnesses include Thomas Ferrer, Justice of Chester, and Thomas Danyers, Sheriff of Cheshire.

40. Letter of attorney from the above Elena to Thomas de Baggelegh' to receive seisin of the same [39]. 24 June 1350. Seal, missing.

41. Gift by Margery, daughter of Richard le Glover, and her sister Matilda to John Wych' of their burgage in the vill of Knotesford lying between the burgages of Stephen, son of Roger, and John de Brodeforthe. 28 Jan. 1363. 2 seals, missing.

42. Letter of protection granted by Edward, Prince of Wales, to James, son of John de Legh, kt., going to Gascony. Chester, 8 May 1363. Seal, missing.

43. Lease for 20 years by Marion de Tablegh' to David Pynk of all that third part of a fourth part of Knotusford which descended to her by the death of Richard de Coton'; rent, a rose leaf yearly during the first 10 years at Midsummer, if demanded, and during the remaining 10 years 20s. p.a. at the two terms of the year. 19 Aug. 1370. Seal, missing.

44. Gift by William le Pope of Knotusford to John le Baxter of the same of a selion in the same vill in a field called *le Quitebruche* between the selions formerly belonging to Adam Hillessone, chaplain, and Hugh del Heth; rent, a grain of pepper yearly, if demanded, at Martinmas; with right of distrain on William's burgage in Knotusford should the chief lords distrain on John for any rent belonging to the said selion. 18 Oct. 1373. Seal, missing.

45. Gift by Walter Dauson' and Nycholaa [sic], his wife, to their daughter Katherine and William, son of Roger de Oulegreve, and their lawful heirs of 3 adjoining burgages in Over Knotesford between the land of the Rector of Routhestorne church, on the one side, and a burgage formerly belonging to Stephen, son of Roger, on the other, and 5 selions lying together in *le Oldefeld* between the high way from Knotesford to Pevur, on the one side, and the land of William le Clerke, on the other, with all appurtenances; remainder to the said Walter and his heirs for ever should Katherine and William die without heirs. 3 Feb. 1382. Seal, missing.

46. Feoffment by John de Legh of le Bothus to Hugh de Toft and John de Stathum, chaplains, of all his manors, lands, tenements, mills, rents and

services, with all appurtenances in co. Chester ; saving lands and tenements held in chief of the King and by knight's service as of the Earl of Chester. 15 June 1384. Seal, missing.

47. Final concord, at Chester, between Richard le Wyldcolt, plaintiff, and John Kene of Newcastle under Lyme and his wife Alice, defendants, respecting 2 burgages with appurtenances in Knottesford. 14 Nov. 1385.

48. Gift by John, son and heir of James de Legh, to Richard, son of Walter Smith [*Faber*] of Knottesford of a burgage in Knottesfordbothes between the land of the said Richard, on the one side, and a burgage formerly belonging to Henry Cam, on the other, as limited by certain bounds, with a selion in *le Sondefelde* between the manor of le Bothes and the said vill ; rent 2s. 6d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, and the work of one man for one day's reaping in Autumn ; and doing suit of court, to the mill and oven, as the other burgesses of the said vill. 21 Oct. 1392. Seal, missing.

49. Gift by John, son of James de Legh, lord of Knottesford Both[es], to [Thomas le Tele] of a burgage, with garden and selion adjacent and other appurtenances, in the vill of Knottesford Bo[thes] [? lying between the burgages of . . . , on the one part, and] Richard le Tele, on the other ; rent, [2s. 6d. p.a. and] one man for one day in the Autumn, saving to John suit of court, to the oven and mill. *Die . . . [fes]tum Pentecoste*, 1393. Seal, missing.

Imperfect. Endorsed : *Carta Thome le Tele* (contemporary) and *ij^s vj^d redditus et dies laboris in autumnpno* (16th cent.).

50. Gift by Elizabeth, widow of Henry Cam, and Ibeta, her daughter, widow of Henry Averell', in their pure widowhood, to Robert de Cornell and Joan his wife and Joan's lawful heirs of a burgage in Knottesford Bothes which Elena de Page formerly held of them, situated between the burgage in which Elizabeth and Ibeta are living and the burgage of John le Cowper, with the adjacent garden and a selion in *le leperusouerfeld*, with all appurtenances ; of half a burgage in which John de [*sic*] Smyth dwells, lying between the burgages of John de Thelwall' and Oliver le Brabayn, with half of the adjacent garden and of a selion in the said field, and half of the whole building, with all appurtenances ; with reversion to Elizabeth and Ibeta and their rightful heirs if Joan die without lawful heirs. 21 Sept. 1402. Seal, missing.

51. Feoffment by Hugh de Toft, chaplain, to Robert de Legh and Agnes his wife of a burgage which he holds by the feoffment of John de Legh, lord of Knottesfordbothes, lying between the burgages of Thomas de Mascy and Edward Sherd, with successive remainders to James de Legh, the said Robert's brother, and his heirs ; to Geoffrey de Legh, James's brother, and his heirs ; to Edward de Legh, Geoffrey's brother, and his heirs ; to Henry de Legh, Edward's brother, and his heirs ; and to John de Legh, lord of Knottesfordbothes, his heirs and assigns for ever. 6 Feb. 1404. Seal, missing.

52. Confirmation by John de Legh, lord of Knottesfordbothes, of the above feoffment [51]. 22 March 1404. Seal, missing.

53. Gift by Joan, daughter of Nicholas Symson, widow of William

Wyght, in her pure widowhood, to William de Baguley, chaplain, of the burgage in Knottesford Bothes in which Nicholas dwells, with garden, adjacent selion and all other appurtenances. 15 April 1407. Seal, missing.

54. Indenture of agreement between John de Legh of le Bothes and John de Cholmundeleley of Chorley that Thomas, son and heir of William de Crewe and son of Alice, daughter of the said John de Cholmundeleley, shall marry one of the daughters [un-named] of the said John de Legh. 15 Dec. 1407. Seal, missing. (French.)

Ormerod, i. 495 note b.

55. *Rentale Iohannis filii Iacobi de Legh de Knottesford Bothes.* 11 Nov. 1408. Parchm., 1 m.

Ormerod, *loc. cit.*

56. Feoffment by Hugh de Knottesford and John, son of Roger de Oulegreve, to John, son of William de Oulegreve, and his heirs male, of all those messuages, lands, tenements, rents and services which they have of the feoffment of the said John, son of William, in the vill of Knottesford, with all appurtenances; with successive remainders to Hugh and his heirs male, the said John, son of Roger, and his heirs male, and Hugh and his rightful heirs. 9 Ap. 1414. Seal, missing.

57. Gift by William de Bagulegh' and John le Fleccher, chaplains, to Thomas, son of John le Couper of Tymphurley, of a burgage, with an adjacent garden and selion, in Nether Knottesford, lying between the burgages of Thomas Golburne and Roger de Hulme; to have, etc., with common of turbary and pasture and with all other appurtenances to the said Thomas, his heirs and assigns, for ever of the chief lords for the services due and by law accustomed, doing suit with all his corn at the mill of John de Legh of le Bothes called *le Bothe Mylne* at all times of the year unless the mill between Knottesford Bothes and Netherknottesford should be re-established and made suitable again, in which case he is to do suit at that mill. 4 Feb. 1419. 2 seals, missing.

58. Gift by John Fox of Knottesford, butcher, to Roger le Venables, Rector of the church of Roustorn', Thomas Savage, Rector of the church of Checkyle, Geoffrey Mascy of Workesley, Hugh le Cokker, William de Are, Hugh Towne, John Fox (the grantor's son), and Richard Fox, of that burgage, with appurtenances, lying next to Matilda de Wodford's burgage in Knottesford, which he has of the gift of Ralph, son of David de Hoknell'. 29 Sept. 1419. Seal, missing.

59. Gift by William de Bagulegh', parson of the church of Assheton', and John le Fleccher, chaplain, to John de Legh of le Bothes, his heirs and assigns, of all those burgages, lands, tenements, rents and services with all appurtenances which they have of the said John's feoffment in the vills and territories of Netherknottesford and Knottesfordbothes. 24 June 1420. 2 seals, missing.

60. Feoffment by John de Legh of le Bothes to John Tochet, parson of the church of Middlewich, and John de Marthall', chaplain, of all his manors, burgages, lands, tenements, mills, rents, and services, with all appurtenances, in co. Chester, together with all reversions of all his lands, etc. 7 July 1420. Seal, missing.

61. Receipt of John de Hondford to John de Legh of le Bothes, Thomas de Asthull' and Thomas de Pownall' for 5 marcs of silver. Dated: *Anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum octavo* [1420/21]. Seal, missing.

62. Quitclaim by John de Tofte, son and heir of William de Tofte, brother of Hugh de Tofte, chaplain, to John de Legh of le Bothes and his heirs of all his right, etc., in all those lands, tenements, rents and services, with appurtenances, which the said John de Legh has of his feoffment in co. Chester. 9 Nov. 1427. Seal, missing.

63. Gift by John de Legh, son of John de Legh of le Bothes, to Gilbert de Hatton, his heirs and assigns, of a burgage in the vill of Knottesford, viz. at the end of the said vill between the burgage late of Joan del Brome, on the one side, and a road leading from the said vill to Toftcrosse, on the other, with a garden and croft adjacent to the same; of another burgage at the north end of the said vill between the burgage late of Geoffrey del Shert, on the side, and lands of the said John de Legh, on the other; of a parcel of land in *le Tounfyld* between lands of the said John and lands late of Geoffrey del Shert, which parcel is enclosed by a new ditch and stretches in breadth towards the east and lengthwise to the road leading from the said vill to the manor of le Bothes; and of 2 selions in *le leporosfyld*, whereof one lies in the south portion of the said field and has one headland stretching as far as *Ponstonesmere* in the east and the other as far as John de Oulegreve's field in the west and lies in breadth between the lands of William de Are and Robert de Cornell', on the one side, and *le Rowlowfyld*, on the other, and the other lies in the north portion of *le leporosfyld*, namely, in length as far as William de Are's croft in the west and the heath towards Ollerton' in the east, and in breadth towards *le Cleypittes* on the heath in the north and as far as land of the said John in the tenure of Katharine de Oulegreve in the south; rent, 6s. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, for all secular services, etc., excepting suit of the said John's court of Knottesford, to his water-mill and common oven there, and autumn work such as the other burgesses are bound to do, namely, for each burgage one day in autumn. 1 May 1430. Seal, missing. Endorsed, in a 17th cent. hand: *A Bondary deede of Massies Lands in Nether* [altered to *Over*] *Knottesforde*.

64. Gift by John Tochet, senior, lately Rector of the Church of Middlewich, to John de Legh of le Bothes, his heirs and assigns, of all those manors, burgages, lands, tenements, mills, rents and services with all their appurtenances in co. Chester, together with all reversions of all lands, etc., which he has of the feoffment of John de Legh, father of the said John de Legh of le Bothes [see 60 above]. 18 Ap. 1432. Seal, missing.

65. Gift by Stephen de Crombewell' and Cecilia his wife, formerly wife of John de Thelwall, to William Mossecroppe, his heirs and assigns, of a burgage, with garden and selion adjacent, and its other appurtenances, in the vill of Knottesford Bothes, situated between the burgage formerly of Elizabeth Cam and the burgage formerly of Richard Tele; which said burgage, garden and selion Cecilia lately had of the gift of Nicholas de Wryghtinton', chaplain, and William de Are. 21 Dec. 1433. 2 seals, missing.

66. Lease by John de Legh of le Buthes and Hugh Fyton' to Hugh le Tayllour' and Philippa his wife, of a burgage in Knottesford, situated

between the burgage of John le Smyght, on the one side, and the lane called *le Mynscul lane* on the other, with the orchard and garden adjacent, and with a selion in *le Domfyld*, and another selion and garden adjacent in the field called *le Slaynemonsfyld* between the selion late of Hugh de Knotesford and the selion of Hugh le Cocker ; to have, etc., to the said Hugh and Philippa and to the longer liver of them from Midsummer next following ; rent 12s. sterling at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, Hugh or Philippa to keep the burgage and its appurtenances in repair. 6 May 1434. 2 seals, missing.

67 Lease for 50 years by John de Munchull' to Richard de Wolmore, his wife and children, of a burgage, with garden and selion adjacent, in Over Knottesford between the burgages of William de Are and Richard de Farneworth ; rent, 20d. silver to the said John, and to the lord of Knottesford Bothes 30d. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, and one man for reaping in Autumn or 2d. 6 Nov. 1434. Seal, missing.

68. Feoffment by John de Legh, lord of le Bothes, to Oliver de Legh, parson of the church of Davenham, and Roger Doumvyale, parson of the church of Lymme, of his manors of le Bothes and Torkynton' with all appurtenances and all his messuages, lands, tenements, rents and services and their appurtenances in co. Chester, together with the reversion of all those lands and tenements which Matilda de Legh holds in dower after the death of John de Legh, grandfather of the feoffor, by the assignment of John de Legh, father of the feoffor, in the vills of Routhesthorn', Yarewode, Mere and le Mershe, with their reversion after the death of the said Matilda to the said feoffor. 28 Apr. 1438. Seal, missing. With a late 15th cent. copy.

Ormerod, i. 495 note b.

69. Gift by John de Legh, lord of le Bothes, to his son Geoffrey of a burgage with the adjacent land which he lately acquired from Richard Sondes and Cecilia his wife, and another burgage with the adjacent land which he lately acquired from Richard de Wolmer, both in the vill of Knottesford, excepting in each case 30d. of chief rent issuing from each burgage to the said John's heirs. 20 Jan. 1440. Seal, missing.

70. Letter of attorney to Henry Holand to deliver seisin of the above burgages. 21 [Jan.] 1440. Seal, missing. Slightly imperfect.

71. Quitclaim by Oliver Legh, parson of the church of Danam, Roger Doumvyale, parson of the church of Lymme, Richard Dutton', parson of the church of Routhethorn' [sic], and Richard Sydeswyrd, chaplain, to John Legh, son of John Legh of Knottesford Bothes, of all their lands, tenements, rents and services with appurtenances in Knottesford Bothes, Torkynton', Ollerton', Routhesthorn', Bollynton', Yarwoode, Moburley, Myllynton', and le Mere in co. Chester. 10 Feb. 1443. 2 seals, missing.

72. Gift by John le Venables, son of Roger le Venables, formerly parson of Routhesthorn', to Robert le Grosvenor of a messuage with the adjacent land in Over Knottesford between the messuage of John de Knottesford, on the one side, and the fish-pond of John de Legh, lord of le Bothes, on the other, which messuage and land he lately acquired from the said Roger, his father. 4 May 1443. Seal, missing.

73. Dispensation for the marriage of John de Lye and Emma de Grevenour. 5 June 1443. Seal, missing.

74. Will of Charles de Lee. 21 Sept. 1443.

75. Gift by Thomas de Toft to Thomas de Lathum of Knottesford, draper, of a burgage in Nether Knottesford between the burgages of John de Knottesford and John de Gretolur, together with a selion in *le Whitebruch*; rent, 6s. 2d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions; with right of distrain and re-entry. 21 Sept. 1448. Seal, missing.

76. Gift by John de Legh of le Bothes to Thomas de Snelston' of a burgage with the adjacent land in Knottesford, situated between the burgage of Elena Archebalt, on the one side, and the burgage late of William de Are next to the bakehouse, on the other, which said burgage John lately recovered against John del Cornell'; rent, 6s. 8d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, doing suit of court to the said John's water-mill and common oven and performing all other customs and services which the other burgesses are bound to perform by the common charter; with right of distrain and re-entry. 11 Nov. 1450. Seal, missing.

77. Quitclaim by John de Legh, son and heir of Robert de Legh, late of Knottesford, to Henry le Baxter and Elena his wife of all his right, etc., in a burgage with appurtenances in Knottesford Bothes which they have of his feoffment. 2 Jan. 1451. Seal, missing.

78. Gift by John Knottesford to Richard de Wolmer of a burgage with adjacent land in Nether Knottesford, lying between the burgage of Hugh le Maynwarynge and a burgage of the said John; rent, 16d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions; with right of distrain and re-entry. 11 Nov. 1453. Seal, missing.

79. Gift by John Legh, senior, of le Bothes to Hugh Boydell' of a piece of ground and the building standing thereon, together with an adjacent garden, in Overknottesford, lying between the tenements of Robert Grosvenour and John Knottesford; rent, a red rose yearly at Midsummer, if demanded, for all services. 3 June 1454. Seal, missing.

80. Gift by John Lowe and Anna his wife to Thomas de Henshagh' of all their messuages, lands, tenements, rents and services in the vill of Knottesford. 13 Jan. 1455. Seal, missing.

81. Indenture between Joan, who was wife of John Legh of le Bothes, kt., and John Legh, esq., son of the said John Legh, kt., whereby the former leases to the latter for 60 years all those messuages, lands, tenements, rents and services with appurtenances which the said John Legh, kt., and Joan lately had of the feoffment of Oliver de Legh, parson of the church of Davenham, and Roger Downvile, deceased, parson of the church of Lymme, in Knottesford, Knottesfordbothes, Torkynton', Modburley, Ollerton and elsewhere in co. Chester; rent, 5l. p.a. at Midsummer next following or within 40 days thereof, and afterwards 10l. p.a. at the two terms of the year or within 40 days thereof, in equal portions, during the said term; with right of re-entry and with certain provisos. *Hiis testibus Iohanne, Comite Salopie, Iusticiario Cestrie, Ricardo Tunstall', milite, Camerario Cestrie, Willelmo del Both', milite, Vicecomite Cestres', et aliis.* 11 June 1460. Seal, missing.

82. Indenture between Joan, who was wife of John Legh of le Bothes, kt., and their son Philip, witnessing that she has leased to him all her messuages, lands, tenements, rents and services, with appurtenances, in the vills of Knottesford, Knottesfordbothes, Torkynton', Modburley and Ollerton in co. Chester, for term of her life ; rent, 9 silver marks at the two terms of the year, in equal portions ; with right of re-entry ; if Joan survive Philip this lease becomes null and void ; the said Philip, William Venables of Golburn' David, John Legh of le Bothes, Robert Leycestre of Tofte, and Thomas Knottesford of Twemlowe bind themselves to pay Joan 100l. should Philip or his brother John Legh, their heirs or assigns, cause any damage or waste in the said messuages, etc. 20 May 1466. Seal, missing.

83. Indenture between John Legh of Knottesford Bothes, esq., and John Patryk, witnessing that the former has granted the latter a burgage in Knottesford Bothez lying at *Pykstele*, with an adjacent selion ; rent, 2s. 6d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions ; doing suit of court to the mill and common oven ; with right of distrain and re-entry. 14 Sept. 1466. Seal, missing.

84. Gift of Geoffrey Davy, Rector of the church of Swetenam, and Robert Leycestr', esq., to John Holden of Netherknottesford of a burgage in Netherknottesford, with 2 adjacent gardens, lying between a lane called *Mynshullawne* on the south and a burgage late of John Whitley on the north, saving a part of the said burgage lately in the tenure of Thomas Alisaunder ; also a tenement ['tenement' written over an erasion] called *Slaynmonfeld* in Netherknottesford and a selion lying in a field called *le Overmast Damfeld* in Netherknottesford between land of Robert Bente on both sides, with all appurtenances ; rent 16s. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions ; with right of distrain and re-entry. 8 Feb. 1472. Seal, missing.

85. Gift by Simon Hatton' to Geoffrey Mascy of all his messuages, burgages, lands and tenements, with all appurtenances, in Knottesford and Knottesford Bothes or elsewhere in co. Chester. 10 July 1472. Seal, missing.

86. Letter of attorney to William Maykyn to deliver seisin of the same. [85]. 10 July 1472. Seal, missing.

87. Gift by Thomas Knottesford to Geoffrey Mascy, yeoman, of a burgage in Overknottesford with a garden and selion adjacent, which burgage lies between the burgage of Geoffrey Mascy, kt., on the south and the burgage of the said Thomas on the north, and the selion abuts upon it ; rent, 10d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions ; with right of distrain and re-entry. 12 Sept. 1472. Seal, missing.

88. Gift by Alice, widow of Nicholas Hassulhurst, in her pure widowhood, to Thomas Heth of a burgage in Knottesford Bothes lying between the burgage of Elena, widow of Thomas Wode, on the north, and the burgage late of Thomas Holford, on the south, with a garden and selion adjacent to the same, which selion lies in a field called *leprossfeld*. 21 Sept. 1472. Seal, missing.

89. Demise by Geoffrey Davy, Rector of the church of Swetenam, and Robert Leycestr' of Tofte, esq., to Robert Cachehare of a burgage in Netherknottesford, with a garden and croft adjacent, lying between the

burgage in John Bosdon's tenure on the south and the burgage in Thomas Strynger's tenure on the north ; which burgage, etc., they lately had, *inter alia*, of the feoffment of John Yate, chaplain, and Robert Nedam ; rent, 4s. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions ; with right of distrain and re-entry ; attorney to deliver seisin, Robert Lathum. 12 May 1475. Seal, missing.

90. Gift by Reginald Legh of le Bothes to Geoffrey Mascy of a burgage in Overknottesford, with a garden and selion, adjacent, lying at *Pykstele* next to the burgage of Geoffrey Mascy, kt., the selion being in the field called *leprosefeld* next to the selion late of Simon Hatton' towards the east ; attorney to deliver seisin, Robert Lathum. 8 April 1478. Seal, missing.

91. Indenture of award by William Venables of Kynderton', esq., Piers Venables and Thomas Spencer in a dispute between Geoffrey Mascy and John Hatton respecting the right and title of all such burgages, messuages, lands and tenements in Overknottesford which Geoffrey lately had of the gift and feoffment of Simon Hatton'. 20 Dec. 1478. Seals, missing. (Eng.)

92. Quitclaim by John Hatton', son and heir of Simon Hatton', deceased, to Geoffrey Mascy of all his right, etc., in all messuages, burgages, lands and tenements, with all their appurtenances, in Knottesford and Knottesford Bothes which Geoffrey had of Simon's gift by his charter of 10 July 1472 [85 above]. 20 Oct. 1479. Seal, missing.

93. Grant by Geoffrey Mascy of Knottisford Superior to Agnes, daughter of James Glasebroke, of 5 marks from his goods, etc., by way of dower. 13 July 1504. Seal, missing.

94. Feoffment by Philip Legh of Bothes, esq., to William Brereton, esq. (son and heir of Andrew Brereton, kt.), William Brereton (son and heir of the said William), John Fitton, esq. (son and heir of Edward Fitton, esq.), Edward Fitton (son and heir of the said John), Richard Doone of Utkynton, esq., John Doone (son and heir of the said Richard), Thomas Huls, esq., Philip Huls (son and heir of the said Thomas), Robert Blakwall, one of the Masters of the King's Chancery, and John Salter of Newport, Salop, learned in the law, of his manor of Knottisford Bothes, Northebury Bothes and Knottisford and all other his messuages, lands, etc., in the vills of Knottisford Bothes, Ollerton', Moburley, Rauthestorne, Myllyngton', and Bolynton' or elsewhere in co. Chester, together with the reversion of all those messuages, lands, etc., which Anne, late wife of John Legh, esq., holds for life ; excepting those messuages, lands, etc., of the yearly value of 20l. lately granted for life to Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Brereton, late wife of Andrew Brereton, kt. (which Elizabeth the said Philip is going to marry), and lands and tenements of the yearly value of 20 marcs lately granted by the said Philip for the fulfilling of his intention ; and excepting a parcel of land in Torkynton' called *Heppalles*, and an acre of land in the vill of Moburlegh' which is parcel of the pond of the water-mill called *le Bothe Milne* and lies at the upper part of the said pond ; to the use of the said Philip and his lawful heirs male. 14 Aug. 1506. 5 seals, missing.

Imperfect abstract in Ormerod, i. 495 note b.

95. Gift of Agnes de Kyrfote and Charles her son to James Chorltan', chaplain, of the burgage in Knottesford Bothes in which they live, with a

garden and selion adjacent in the field called *leprossefeld*, and of another burgage next to it with a garden and a selion in a certain common field called *Overtounfeld*, both of which they lately had of the feoffment of Oliver de Kyrfote, Agnes's late husband, and which are next to Philip Legh's burgage on the south and the *Bakhouse Burgage* on the north. 10 April 1512. Seal, missing.

96. Feoffment by Roger Knottisford of Twemlowe to John Bent, Robert Madoc, James Swynnton' and William Burgess of a parcel of land with a small garden in *le Minchill' Lawne* in Nether Knottisford lately in James Hugh's tenure and lying between the said lane on the south and the garden in Geoffrey Wynstanley's tenure on the north ; rent, 2s. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions ; with right of distrain and re-entry. 1 Dec. 1511. Seal, missing.

97. Feoffment by Thomas Lathum of Knottisford to the above John, Robert, James and William of an annual rent of 2s. from a burgage in Nether Knottisford in the tenure of Petronilla Lathum, widow, lying between the burgage in Ralph Peycok's tenure, on the south, and the burgage formerly belonging to John Burges and now in John Atkynson's tenure, on the north ; rent 2s. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. 15 Jan. 1512. Seal, missing.

98. Lease for 500 years by Philip Legh of Bothes, esq., to Roger Knottesford of Twemlowe of an acre of land in the *Overbrandyorth* in Knottesford lordship in Henry Swanley's holding. 1 April 1512. Seal, missing.

Endorsed : 18 Dec^r. 1744, *the Seal affixed to this Deed was accidentally broke of [sic] by me, S. Finney.* A 17th note places the acre in *Overbrend-yearthes*.

99. Similar lease of an acre in the *Crosse feld* in Knottesford lordship in Hugh Mascy's holding. 1 April 1512. Seal, missing.

100. Feoffment by Roger Knottesford of Twemlowe to Robert Moscrope, Nicholas Wolmer, John Bent and Robert Madock of a burgage in Overknottesford with a garden and of a selion in *le Bothslade* adjacent to the same, the said burgage and garden lying between the burgage of Nicholas Wolmer on the north and the burgage late of Emnot Tasker on the south ; rent 2d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions ; with right of distrain and re-entry. 5 April 1512. Seal, missing.

101. Quitclaim by Roger Knottesford to Philip Legh of Bothes, esq., of all his right, etc., in an acre of land lying in a close next to *le Birchynfeld*. 13 May 1516. Seal, missing.

102. Sale by Agnes Cachehare, daughter and heiress of Robert Cachehare, to George Holforde, kt., of a burgage, with garden, croft and appurtenances, in Netherknottisforde which she has inherited from her father and which lies between the burgage in Thomas Chessworthe's tenure on the south and the burgage in Hugh Wode's tenure on the north ; attorneys to deliver seisin, Robert Massy and John Wrenche. 20 May 1519. Seal, missing.

103. Sale by James Wolmer of Overknotysford and his son and heir Laurence Wolmer to Thomas Wolmer of a burgage with croft and garden in Overknotysford ; attorneys to deliver seisin, Thomas Tofte and Richard Chester. 26 Aug. 1527. Seal, missing.

104. Quitclaim from the same to the same respecting the same. 26 Aug. 1527. Seal, missing.

105. Receipt of the above Laurence Wolmer to the above Thomas Wolmer respecting the same. 26 Aug. 1527. Seal, missing.

106. Grant by Thomas Wolmer to his father James Wolmer of a burgage with croft and garden in Overknotysford which he lately had from the said James ; to have, etc., to James for life, and then to return to Thomas, his heirs and assigns ; attorney to deliver seisin, Hugh Moscroppe. 10 Sept. 1527. Seal, missing.

107. Indenture of agreement between Robert Moscroppe and his wife Elizabeth, of the one part, and their son and heir Hugh Moscroppe, of the other, whereby Hugh is to have *the mease place* with appurtenances in Over Knotysford, paying therefor 40s. to the said Robert, and Robert and Elizabeth are to have the house in which Robert lives ; with proviso in case of Elizabeth's widowhood. 10 Nov. 1528. 2 seals, missing.

108. Feoffment to uses by John Wolmer, son and heir of Edward Wolmer, lately deceased, to William Antrobus, Thomas Brocke, Thomas Tofte and Henry Ashton, chaplain, of all his messuages, etc., together with a croft called *Mytley* in Geoffrey Wolmer's tenure for life, with all appurtenances, in Overknotysford and Netherknotysford or elsewhere in co. Chester. 6 March 1536. Seal, missing.

109. Lease for 60 years by John Lancaster, Prior of the Monastery of St. John the Baptist of Laund, Leics., and the Convent of the same, to John Leghe of Norbury Boothes, esq., of *all and syngler there tithe corne and hey, pygges, gesse, hemp and flax growyng, cumyng or being w'in the cyrcuett of the lordshippe and demeanes of Norbury Boothes* ; rent, 13s. 4d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. 4 Jan. 1538. Seal, missing.

Cf. Ormerod, i. 498.

110. Indenture of agreement between John Hassall' of Lychfeld, Staffs., of the one part, and Ralph Chedwycke and Thomas Swynton', wardens or reeves of the chapel of Netherknotysford, of the other, respecting certain arrears from lands and tenements of John Alexander, lately deceased, belonging to Elizabeth Alexander, now wife of the said John Hassall', by right of her jointure. 14 Aug. 1538. Seal, missing.

111. Bargain and sale by William Swynton' of Netherknottesford, mercer, to John Leghe of Bothes, esq., of all his right, etc., in a burgage in Netherknottesford, with all appurtenances. 26 Jan. 1540. Seal, missing.

112. Bond of the above William Swynton' and of George Holford, and Thomas Walton, gentlemen, to the above John Leghe, for performance of the same [111]. 26 Jan. 1540.

113. Grant by Hugh Cockar [sic] of Meir, gentleman, and John Cockar, his son and heir, to Roger Cockar, son of the said John, for life, of an annual rent of 13s. 4d. from 2 tenements in Knotisforde ; with right of distraint. 6 July 1541. *Hiis testibus Willelmo Meyr, armigero, Roberto Leghe, armigero, et Willelmo Hardwicke, clerico, qui presentes propria scripsit manu, cum multis aliis.*

The names of the witnesses, all three of whom also sign at the foot, follow the date, as above.

114. Quitclaim by Isota Lynney of Nether Knottysforde, widow, to John Legh of Bothes, esq., of all her right, etc., in a messuage in Nether Knottysforde in her occupation. 8 Nov. 1541. Seal, missing.

115. Feoffment to uses by John Leghe of le Bothes, esq., to Ralph Leycestr' of Toft, esq., and William Hieghfeld, gentleman, of his manor or chief messuage of le Bothes called *the hall of the Bothes* and all his messuages, etc., in Knottesford Bothes, Overknottesford, Netherknottesford, Ollerton, Roustorn' and Torkynton or elsewhere in co. Chester. 10 March 1544. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, i. 495 note b.

116. Sale by Elizabeth Bayle, widow, daughter and heir of Thomas Chapman, to John Legh of Bothes, kt., of a burgage, with garden and selion adjacent, in Overknottysford in Thomas Maynwaryng's occupation, lying between a burgage of the said John Legh in Hugh Blacburne's tenure on the north and another burgage of the said John in James Leche's tenure on the south; attorneys to deliver seisin, John Holte and William Ancres. 3 April 1545. Seal, missing.

117. Gift by Laurence Wulmeir of Knottesford to John Legh of Bothes, kt., of a burgage and land in Knottesford Bothez in the tenure of the said Laurence, Thomas Dent and Henry Whitmor, lying between the burgage of Thomas Danyell in Hugh Cowper's tenure, on the east, the burgage of the said John Legh in John Thrilwynde's tenure, on the west, the burgage of Ralph Maynwaryng, kt., in William Antrobuz's tenure, on the south, and the burgage of the said John Legh in Thomas Mylner's tenure, on the north; attorneys to deliver seisin, John Thrilwynde and Hugh Cowper. 13 April 1546. Seal, missing.

118. Quitclaim from the same to the same respecting the same. 13 April 1546. Seal, missing.

119. Bargain and sale by Richard Heghfelde of Knottisford parish, yeoman, and Jane, his wife, to John Legh of the Bothes, kt., of 3 burgages with all appurtenances in Nether Knottisford in the several tenures of John Holte, James Cryer and William Ankers, and agreement for a lease to Richard and Jane and their daughter Ellen of a messuage with appurtenances in Moberley in the tenure of Charles Strettell', the elder, and of a close called *Rigwey crosse* in William Tofte's tenure. 15 May 1547. 2 seals, missing. [See 205 below.]

120. Sale by Richard Heghefylde of Nether Knottesforde, husbandman, and Jane his wife (daughter and heir of the late Philip Swanley) to John Legh of Boithes [sic], kt., of all their burgages, lands, etc., in Nether Knottesforde which were the inheritance of the said Philip Swanley and are in the separate tenures of John Holt, James Crimes, and William Ankers. 16 Sept. 1547. 2 seals, missing. [See 205 below.]

121. Quitclaim by the same to the same respecting the same. 16 Sept. 1547. Seal, missing.

122. Feoffment by John Legh of Bothes, kt., to William Brereton', kt., Ralph Leycester, kt., William Moreton, esq., Richard Starke of Stretton, esq., and Thomas Legh, gentleman (son and heir of Robert Legh of High Legh, esq.), of all those his lands, tenements, etc. in Overknottysford and

Netherknotysford which he lately had of Laurence Wolmer, Elizabeth Bayle, widow, John Taylier and Richard Highfeld and Jane his wife ; to the use of the said John Legh, kt., and his lawful male heirs, with remainder to John Legh, his bastard son, and his heirs and assigns for ever ; also of all his messuages, lands, etc., in Ollerton, to the use of the said John Legh, kt., and his lawful male heirs, with remainders to the said John Legh, his bastard son, for life and, after his death, to the rightful heirs of the said John Legh, kt., for ever ; attorneys to deliver seisin, Thomas Legh of Tabley and Hugh Meyre of Rothestorne. 23 July 1548. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, i. 495 note *b*.

123. Sale by John Swynton' of Netherknotysford, *sherman*, and his son and heir Hugh Swynton to John Legh of Bothes, kt., of a messuage with appurtenances in Netherknotysford in the said John Swynton's occupation, lying between Henry Madacke's burgage on the north and the burgage of James Broster in Thomas Murcroft's tenure on the south ; attorneys to deliver seisin, Henry Hoghe and Richard Oldfeld, jun. 11 Dec. 1549. 2 seals, missing.

124. Quitclaim from the same to the same respecting the same. 11 Dec. 1549. 2 seals, missing.

125. Grant by Richard Venables and John Maynerde, esquires, to John Leighe of Norbury Boothes, kt., of all their messuages, lands, etc. in the tenures or occupation of John Barington, Robert Hough, William Edge, Thomas Swynton, Randolph Acson, Roger Henshagh, Ellen Wolmer, Godfrey Hough, John Millington, John Swynton, Geoffrey Burges, Richard Nylde, Geoffrey Stubbe, Thomas Bente, Isota Aldcrofte, Richard Shore, George Forester, Elizabeth Rigewey and William Aldcrofte or their assigns in Netherknottisforde, Sudlowe and Overknottisforde, formerly given to the chaplains and priests celebrating in the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Netherknottisforde, as fully, freely, etc. as the said Richard Venables and John Maynerde had them of the grant of the King by his letters patent of 21 Dec. 1549 ; to hold to the said John Leighe, kt., his heirs and assigns for ever of the King as of his manor of Estgrenewich, co. Kent, by fealty only, in free socage and not in chief ; attorneys to deliver seisin, Thomas Leigh of Northwode and Hugh Meyre, gentlemen. 24 Dec. 1549. 2 seals, missing.

126. Similar grant by the above John Maynarde (Richard Venables being deceased) to the above John Leyghe, kt., of the same. 4 Dec. 1551. Seal, missing.

127. Exemplification of the above [126]. 7 Dec. 1551. Seal, missing.

128. Quitclaim by John Holcroft, sen., kt., of Holcroft, Lancs., to John Legh of Norbury Bothes, kt., of all his right, etc. in his messuages, burgages, etc. in Nether Knottesford. 9 Ap. 1553. Seal, missing.

129. Exemplification of certain decrees by the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, upon information given by Sir John Savage, kt., High Steward of the Honor and Fee of Halton (parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster in the County of Chester), against Sir John Leighe, kt., respecting yearly courts and leets kept by the latter within the town of Overknottesforde *alias* Knotesforde Bothes (parcel of the said Honor and Fee)

without any warrant or authority. 5 July 1557. Duchy of Lancaster seal, missing.

130. Indenture of covenants between the Queen, of the one part, and Dame Jane Leighe (widow of Sir John Leighe, kt.) and Sir William Sneade, kt., of the other, respecting the grant to Dame Jane and Sir William of the wardship and marriage of John Leighe, son and heir of the said Sir John Leighe, kt. 23 Nov. 1558. Seal, missing. Attached is an extent of the lands, etc. of Sir John which descended to the said John Leighe, esq.

131. Grant to the above Dame Jane Leighe and Sir William Snede of the wardship and marriage of the above John Leighe and of an annuity of 12l. from the manors of Knottesforde Bothes, Norbery Bothes and Torkynton' and messuages, etc. in the same and in Ollerton', Mobberley, Marshe, Millington and Meyre. 28 Jan. 1559. Seal, missing.

132. Bargain and sale by Leonard Stockeley of Newhall, gentleman, to William Ankers of Netherknottesford, dyer, of annual rents issuing from 2 messuages in Netherknottesford (in the tenures of Roger Henshaw and Margaret Acson, widow, respectively) and from land in the Crosse Towne in the lordship of Netherknottesford. 10 July 1565. Seal, missing.

133. Grant to Richard Onslowe, the Queen's attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries, of the house and manor of Bothes with appurtenances, 3 watermills belonging to the same, the croft called *the millcroft*, closes called *Crothers croft*, *the greate Olerton hey*, *the greate Ollerton*, *the Orchard Flate*, *the Pole Flate*, *the Churche woodland*, *the greate Todhall*, *Cröse feld*, *the mershe feld*, *the Parke feld*, *the Stanfeld*, *the Lyllicote hey* and *the Blente Erthe*, a pasture called *the hethe parke*, meadows called *the Merlet earth medowe*, *the Shippen Flate*, and *the Todhall medowe*, together with *the rough orchard*, *the Springe wood*, *the old parke*, and *the Churche wood*, all parcel of the lands, etc. of the late Sir John Leighe, kt., and late the jointure of Jane Leighe, his late wife, deceased; to have, etc. during the minority of John Leighe, son and heir of the said Sir John. 16 Feb. 1570. Seal, missing.

134. Lease for 26 years by John Meare of Meare, esq., to Thomassin Bate, widow of Humphrey Bate, esq., of his messuage in *the Churchfelde* of Knottisford, the moiety of *the tythe corne*, *pigge*, *gose*, *hempe* and *flaxe arrisyng* . . . and being *wthin the circuit of the townshippes of Over Knottisford and Nether Knottisford* together with the glebe land in Knottisford and all the tithes of corn of the same or of any other land of the said Thomassin in Knottisford, and the moiety of *all tithes of corne*, *hey*, *pigge*, *gose*, *hempe* and *flaxe growing*, *comming*, *renewing* and being *wthin the towne of Merthall* . . . and *the towne of Bexton* . . . , *the duties of tithes belonging to the vicare their always exepted and reserved*. 20 June 1571. Seal, missing.

135. Livery to John Leighe, esq., son and heir of John Leighe, late of Norbury Bothes, kt. 5 Aug. 1574.

136. Extent of the manors, lands, etc., of the above John Leighe, esq. 1574.

137. Deed to declare the uses of a recovery by John Leighe of the Bowthes, esq., against William Brereton of Brereton, esq., and William Leycester of Tofte, esq., of the manors of Norberye Bowthes and Knottesford Bowthes, with appurtenances, and 200 messuages, 5 water-mills, a

dovehouse and land in the same and in Ollerton, Nether Knottisforde, Mobberley, Sudlowe, Tabley, Meyre, Millington, Rothestorne, Marshe, Bollington and Torkinton. 20 Sept. 1574. Seal, missing.

138. Indenture of defeasance between William Brereton of Brereton, esq., and John Leighe of Boothes, esq., respecting a Statute Merchant between them of the same date. 7 Oct. 1575. Seal, missing.

139. Lease for three lives by John Leigh of the Bothes, esq., and Jane his wife, to John Yarwoode of Nether Knottysford, shoe maker, Parnell his wife and Richard their son, of the messuage in Nether Knottysford in the said John Yarwoode's occupation. 18 July 1577. Seal, missing.

140. Demise by the above Thomassin Bate to her son William Bate of the messuage, glebe, tithes, etc. leased to her by John Meare on 20 June 1571 [134 above]. 3 Aug. 1579. Seal, missing. Slightly imperfect.

141. Exemplification of the Inquisition post mortem (18 Hen. VIII) of Philip Legh of Bothes, esq. 10 June 1581. Seal, missing.

142. Indenture of covenants between John Leighe of Norbury Boothes, esq., and Jane his wife, of the one part, and Geoffrey Shakarley of Byveley, esq., of the other, respecting a dispute concerning various manors, lands, etc. in co. Chester. [See 143 below.] 4 Sept. 1584. Seal, missing.

143. Quitclaim by the above Geoffrey Shakarley to the above John Leighe of all his right, etc. in all those manors, lands, etc. in the tenure of the said John in Knottesford Boothes *alias* Overknottesford, Norburie Boothes, Torkinton, Marsh, Rothestorne, Nether Knottesforde, Bollington, Moberley, Ollerton, Heppalles, Meyre, Millington, Sudlow, Nether Tabley, Marthall and Warforde. 5 Sept. 1584. Seal, missing.

144. Writ of trespass against James Hanson, late of Merthall, labourer, for breaking into the close of John Leigh, esq., and Jane, his wife, called *Booth Lane* at Norbury Boothes on 9 July 1586.

145. Bond of John Henshawe of Lockwood, Staffs., gentleman, Ralph Hollinshead of Heywood, gentleman, and John Taylor of Snelston, husbandman, to John Leighe of Bowthes, esq., and Geoffrey Shakerley of Byley, esq., for the performance of covenants contained in a bargain and sale by the said John Henshawe to the said John Leighe and Geoffrey Shakerley of certain yearly rents issuing from messuages, lands, etc., in Netherknottesford and Overknottesford. 22 Ap. 1587.

145a. Release by Geoffrey Shakerley of Byveley, esq., to John Leigh of Boothes, esq., of certain yearly rents issuing from divers messuages with appurtenances in Nether Knottesford which John Henshaw, gentleman, sold to the said John Leigh and the said Geoffrey Shakerley by indenture of 22 April 1587 [145 above]. 1 Feb. 1588. Seal, missing.

146. Subpœna for John Leigh, esq., to appear before the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster at Westminster Palace on 17 May next coming. 20 March 1588.

147. Lease by William Bate of Nether Knottesford, gentleman, to John Chadedocke of Rosthorne, clerk, of 4 closes (2 called *the Byrchen feildes* or *Byrchen heyes*; one, *wherein one kylne . . . nowe standeth*, called *the Church feild*; and one called *the Barnefeild*) in Norbury Boothes, within or near the demesne lands of John Leigh, esq., being parcel of the glebe lands

belonging to the parish church of Knottesford; to have, etc. for the remainder of the term contained in a lease made by John Meyre of Meire, esq., to Thomassin Bate, deceased (mother of the said William), on 20 June 1571 [see 134 above]. 1 Oct. 1591. Seal, missing.

148. Quitclaim by Hamlet Stockley of Newall, gentleman, son and heir of Leonard Stockley, late of Newall, gentleman, deceased, to Geoffrey Aldcrofte of Over Knottesford, shoe-maker, of all his right, etc. in an annual rent issuing from a messuage in Over Knottesford in the said Geoffrey's tenure. 22 Oct. 1597. Seal, missing.

149. Bond of indemnity of William Leigh, gentleman, son and heir of John Leigh of Norburie Boothes, esq., to William Allyn of Rothstorne, gentleman. 10 July 1602. Seal, missing.

150. Rental of Over Knottesforde, Nether Knottesforde, Moberley and Owlerton. n.d. [late 16th/early 17th cent.]. Endorsed: *My Sonne Williames nottes* [sc. notes], apparently in the hand of John Leigh of Norbury Booths, father of William Leigh. Parchm., 1 m.

151. Surrender by Geoffrey Aldcrofte of Overknottesford, shoe-maker, Ellen Bow of Moburley, widow, John Strettell of Moburley, husbandman, Margaret Strettell, widow (mother of the said John), and Ellen Eaton, widow of Thomas Eaton, late of Bollington, to John Leigh of Norbury Boothes, esq., of the messuages, lands, etc. in Overknottesforde, Moburley, and Bollington in their occupation. 16 May 1603. 5 seals, missing.

152. Conveyance by John Leigh of Norbury Boothes, esq., to Thomas Leigh, one of his younger sons, of messuages, lands, etc. in Moburley, Oulerton, Bollington and Knottesford Booths some-time in the joint or several tenures of Ellen Bow, widow, John Baxter, deceased, Alice Ridgway, widow, deceased, John Ridgway, John Baxter, deceased [sic], Philip Hewitt, deceased, Thomas Eaton, deceased, Nicholas Homfrey, deceased, Geoffrey Aldcroft, and John Moscropp, deceased; to have, etc. for the life of the grantee, on condition that he does not demise, grant or assign them during the lifetime of Jane Leigh, his mother. 25 May 1603. Seal, missing.

153. Grant by John Leigh of Norbury Boothes, esq., and Jane his wife, to Richard Leigh, gentleman, one of their younger sons, of an annual rent of 10l. issuing from their manor house or capital messuage of Norbury Boothes, commonly called *the Hall of Boothes*, and the closes, fields, etc. belonging thereto, for 50 years. 25 Feb. 1604. 2 seals, missing.

154. Lease for 90 years by Francis Leigh, gentleman (younger son of John Leigh of Norbury Boothes, esq.), with the consent of his mother Jane Leigh, to William Leigh, gentleman (son and heir of the said John), of messuages, etc. in Knottesford Boothes *alias* Over Knottesford and Nether Knottesford demised to him for life by John and William on 10 April last past. 20 April 1614. Seals, missing.

155. Jury presentment that Robert Antrobus, Robert Norbury and Thomas Briggis, all of Over Knottesford, husbandmen, forcibly broke into the close of John Leigh, esq., at Over Knottesford on 28 April 1615 and carried off three *eydging cloddes*.

156. Bargain and sale by Geoffrey Massye of Nether Knottesford, silk

weaver, to Richard Patrick of Nether Tabley, yeoman, and Nicholas Partington of Pyckmeyre of messuages in the holding of William Percivall, John Coppock, Roger Grantham, Edward Hughett, John Halle and Beatrice Templer in Over Knottesford and Knottesford Bouthes. 7 Sept. 1619. 2 seals, missing.

157. Lease for 10 years by John Leigh, gentleman (son and heir of William Leigh of Northburie Boothes, esq.), to the said William of the close called *the Shepcote Flatt*, part of the demesne lands of Northburie Boothes. 14 Oct. 1628.

158. Grant by William Leigh of Northburie Boothes, esq., to Peter Venables, esq., Baron of Kinderton, Thomas Mallory of Moburley, Master of Arts and Dean of Chester, Hugh Cholmondley of Oulton, esq., and Thomas Cholmondley of Vale Royall, esq., of an annual rent of 100l. issuing from certain closes (*the Churchwood, the great meadowe, the poole flatt meadowe, the wood parke, the brickhill feild, the Brickhill meadow, the rough orchard, and the Brandearthes*), part of the demesne lands of Northburie Booths. 15 Sept. 1629. Seal, missing.

159. Bargain and sale by Richard Antrobus, yeoman, to John Leigh of Overknottesford, gentleman (son and heir of William Leigh of Norbury Boothes, esq.), of a burgage in Overknottesford *standing neere unto a certaine Steele called the Pickstele*, with a parcel of land lying behind the same and all other appurtenances. 26 May 1633. Seal, missing.

160. Quitclaim by the same to the same respecting the same. 31 May 1634. Seal, missing.

161. Grant by William Leighe of Northburie Boothes, esq., to Peter Venables of Kinderton, esq., William Booth, esq. (son and heir of Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey, kt. and bart.), Hugh Cholmley of Knights Graunge, gentleman, and Thomas Cholmley of Vale Royall, gentleman, of an annual rent issuing from certain closes (*the Churchwood, the great meadowe, the poole flatt meadowe, the wood parke, the brickhill feild, the Brickhill meadowe, the rough orchard, the Crosse feild, the milne yordes, and the Brundearthes*), parcels of the demesne lands in Northburie Boothes of the said William Leighe, in trust for Elizabeth (wife of Thomas Whichcote, gentleman) and Mary, his daughters. 17 Dec. 1634. Seal, missing. With duplicate.

162. Absolution granted to John Leigh of Knottesford chapelry, gentleman, and Dorothy Ashton of the parish of Middleton for their clandestine marriage. 11 Jan. 1638.

163. Decree of court, at Nantwich, in a case respecting the non-fulfilment of a charitable bequest in the Will of Thomas Legh, late of Northbury Boothes, gentleman, deceased, made to *the young beginners and the rest of the tradesmen of the Towne of Over Knottesford or Higher Towne of Knottesford*. 8 June 1666.

164. Lease for three lives by Edmund Stockley of Newall, gentleman, to John Tallbot of Over Knutsford, chapman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Over Knutsford. 15 Feb. 1673. Seal, missing.

165. Abstract of a fine between John Gandy and John Lowe, jun., gentlemen, plaintiffs, and Peter Legh, esq., and his wife Ruth, defendants,

respecting the manors of Northbury Booths, Knottesford Booths *alias* Over Knotesford, Rothsterne *alias* Rostherne, Marsh and Torkington with appurtenances, messuages in Nether Knottesford, Modburley *alias* Mobberley, Ollerton, Bollington, Sudlow, Tabley Superior, Hepalls, and Bossen, free warren in Knottesford Booths, a fourth part of the manor of Bollington with appurtenances, and a third part of the manor of Sudlow with appurtenances; with a note of the recovery. 14 Aug. 1680. (Made 10 June 1720.)

Cf. Ormerod, i. 495 note b.

166. Lease for three lives by Peter Legh of Northbury Booths, esq., to Robert Norbury of Nether Knutsford, husbandman, of the messuage in Over Knutsford called *Moors Head House*, in Robert's occupation, with appurtenances. 16 March 1681. Seal, missing. Slightly imperf.

167. Similar lease to Jeffrey Aldcroft of Nether Knutsford, mercer, of 2 messuages in Nether Knutsford (one in Jeffrey's tenure; the other, called *Deplitches House*, in the tenure of Robert Pollard, *sharman*), with appurtenances. 17 Aug. 1682. Seal, missing.

168. Similar lease to John Rylance of Over Knutsford, tanner, of the messuage with appurtenances in Over Knutsford in John's occupation. 28 March 1683. Seal, missing.

169. Lease for two lives by the same to James Radford of the Crostowne of Nether Knutsford, husbandman, of the messuage with appurtenances in the Crostowne in James's possession. 30 March 1683. Counterpart.

170. Lease for three lives by the same to John Acton of Over Knutsford, husbandman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Over Knutsford in John's tenure. 1 April 1683. Seal, missing.

171. Similar lease to Samuel Beighton of Over Knutsford, miller, of a messuage with appurtenances in Over Knutsford in Samuel's possession. 10 May 1683. Seal, missing.

172. Similar lease to Thomas Leigh of Nether Knutsford, dyer, of a messuage in Nether Knutsford, *together with seven lands or landoles lying and being in Sudlowtownefield*. 2 Dec. 1684. Seal, missing. Counterpart.

173. Similar lease to Thomas Swinton of Wallisay, clerk, of a messuage with appurtenances in Nether Knutsford in Thomas's tenure. 24 June 1685. Seal, missing. Counterpart. Attached is the bond respecting the same.

174. Similar lease to Joseph Harrison of Neither Knutsford, gentleman, of a messuage with appurtenances and the close called *the Croft att the Townes end* in Neither Knutsford and certain parcels of land in Sudlow town field. 1 Sept. 1688. Seal, missing.

175. Similar lease to Thomas Hunt of Dunham Wood-Houses, gentleman, of a messuage in Nether Knutsford formerly in the possession of William Delves, deceased. 22 Sept. 1690.

176. Lease for two lives by the above Peter Legh, esq., to Margaret Bertles, widow of William Bertles, late son of William Bertles of Netherknutsford, tanner, of a messuage in *Minshall Lane* in Netherknutsford with the closes in Sudlow township commonly enjoyed with the same and called *Allexanders ground* and *the Kittling fields*. 20 Feb. 1691. Counterpart. Attached is a bond respecting the same.

177. Lease for three lives by the same to Mary Legh, spinster, daughter of Peter Legh, late of Nether Knutsford, clerk, deceased, of a messuage with appurtenances in Nether Knutsford formerly in her father's possession. 27 March 1697. Seal, missing.

178. Similar lease to John Brooke of Nether Knutsford, grocer, of a messuage with appurtenances in Nether Knutsford in John's tenure. 20 Aug. 1707.

179. Lease for possession by William Brotherst of Whitchurch, Salop, mercer, to John Bromhall of Namptwich, gentleman, of his fourth part of several lands and houses formerly the inheritance of John Ankers, draper, of Drayton in Hales, Salop, deceased, in or near the upper town and *Cross towne* of Knutsford, in the holding of [Blank] Lovet, Thomas Dickenson, Ould [sic] Tofft, John Yarewood, John Urmston, John Aston and Thomas Pearson. 14 Jan. 1711/12.

180. Lease for 99 years by John Bromhall of Namptwich, gentleman, to Mary Acton of Neither Knutsford, spinster, of a cottage with appurtenances in Over Knutsford in Anne Urmston's tenure. 9 Jan. 1712/13. Counterpart.

181. Lease for 99 years by John Egerton of Tatton, esq., to John Leycester of Nether Knutsford, labourer, of a messuage with appurtenances in Nether Knutsford in the said John Leycester's possession and 3 *lands or loonts* in the town fields of Knutsford formerly in Peter Wood's possession and now in Thomas Dickenson's tenure. 22 July 1713. Counterpart.

182. Assignment by John Parker of Fallowes in Nether Alderley, Thomas Gorst of Smallwood, and William Watts of Newton near Midlewich, gentlemen, (executors of John Parker, father of the said John Parker), to Mary Baguley of Sandbach, spinster, of a mortgage by Peter Legh of Northbury Booths, esq., and Ruth his wife to the said John Parker, deceased, of closes lying in Booths *alias* Northbury Booths called *The Toad Hole Meadow, the Church wood plain, the Little Church wood, the Great Church wood, the Cross feild, the Pease feild, and the Sand feild*. 27 Dec. 1715.

183. Lease for three lives by Ralph Leicester of Toft, esq., to Mary Jephthson of Mobberley, widow, of a dwelling house in Over Knutsford in her possession, late in the occupation of John Norbury, deceased. 6 Sept. 1731.

184. Deed to declare the uses of a recovery to be suffered by Peter Legh of Northbury Booths, esq., of the manors or lordships of Northbury Booths, Knutsford Booths *alias* Over Knutsford, Rosthern *alias* Rosthern Marsh, and Torkinton *alias* Torkington, the fourth part of the manor of Bollington, the third part of the manor of Sudlow, and all his messuages, lands, etc. in Northbury Booths, Knutsford Booths, Rosthern, Torkington, Bollington, Sudlow, Nether Knutsford, Mobberley, Ollerton, Over Tabley, Heppalls and Bosden. 9 March 1743/44.

185. Lease for three lives by the above Peter Legh to John Potts of Over Knutsford, husbandman, of a messuage in the Cross Town in Nether Knutsford, formerly in John Mobberley's possession and lately in the possession of Thomas Mobberley, deceased. 5 Nov. 1746. Counterpart.

186. An estreat of ameracements at the Court Leet with Court Baron of Peter Legh, esq., for the manor of Over Knutsford with members. 26 Nov. 1753.

187. Suit rolls for the manor of Over Knutsford with members (Nether Knutsford, Sudlow, Ollerton, Mobberley, Rostherne, Bollington). May 1749—June 1752, July 1754—July 1759. Paper book of 8 ff. (f. 4 blank), with parchment covers.

188. Assignment from Thomas Lewis of Nether Knutsford, schoolmaster, to Thomas Edwards of Sandaway, gentleman, in consideration of a debt, of his "appointment to the . . . ancient Public School [situate in the Township of Nether Knutsford] granted by . . . Peter Leigh [on 8 July, 1794] . . . and also all his right, title, interest, property, benefit, claim and demand of, in or to the said ancient Public School and the lands, rents, profits, hereditaments and premises belonging or appertaining thereto or to which he is intitled by virtue of the said . . . appointment or by virtue of his Schoolmastership or otherwise howsoever", and of certain of his household goods and effects, a list of which is endorsed. 15 Feb. 1804.

189. Last Will and Testament of Peter Legh of Northbury Boothes, esq. 3 Nov. 1802. Probate, 22 Aug. 1804.

LOSTOCK GRALAM.

190. *Recepta redditus de Lostok' de [? termino] Martini a° xij° [Henrici sexti (1434)]*. Parchm., 2 mm.

LYMM.

191. Indenture between Margery, widow of Laurence Boydel', and her son John whereby she leases to him, for term of her life, 2 messuages and all those lands and tenements with their appurtenances which she lately had of the feoffment of John Boydel' in Lymmebothes and Ughtrynton' within the vill of Lymme; rent 40s. silver p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, beginning at Martinmas next following; with right of distraint and re-entry. 25 Aug. 1409. Seal, missing.

192. Indenture of exchange between Geoffrey Boydelle of Lymme and Laurence Wylme of Oghtrynton' of certain parcels of land. 5 Feb. 1452. Seal.

MERE.

193. Exemplification of Letters of Administration of the goods, etc. of Peter Brooke of Mere, esq., granted to Francis [sic] Mottershead Brooke, his widow. 17 July 1806. Seal.

MIDDLEWICH.

194. Gift by Thomas Spenser of Middlewich, yeoman, to his son and heir, Ralph Spenser, of a salthouse of 6 *leads* lying in Middlewich in *Halpeny Hyll'*, in length between the high way, on the one side, and the land of the lord of Kynderton, on the other, and in breadth between the land of the lord of Kynderton, on the one side, and the land of Edward Eyrdeley, on the other; to have, etc. for ever; rent 12d. silver p.a. to the lord of

Kynderton at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. 12 July 1491. Seal, fragm.

Abstract in Ormerod, iii. 176 note *a*, where "Spenser" is misread as "Spens".

MILLINGTON.

195. Bargain and sale by William Leighe, gentleman (son and heir of John Leighe of Norbury Bouthes, esq.), to William Millington of Millington, gentleman, of a messuage in Millington in William Worsley's occupation, with appurtenances. 16 Ap. 1608.

MOBBERLEY.

196. Gift by John de Arderne, kt., to William, son of Roger de Modburley, of all the land, with appurtenances, which the latter formerly held of him at farm in the vill of Modburley, together with the addition of his portion of a piece of land called *Haselshawe* within these bounds: beginning at *Edrichesford*, in a direct line to the hedge of *Holdenclif*, following that hedge to *Wyralehul*, then in a direct line to the boundaries made between the said John and William de Modburley, following these boundaries to *Wilbroc*, and then following *Wilbroc* to the said *Edrichesford*; to have, etc., with housebote, haybote and fuel for him, his heirs or assigns, and 3 of his customary tenants in the woods of the said vill, quittance of pannage there for his own pigs and those of 3 of his tenants, quittance of toll and stallage in the said John's fees and liberties, quittance of puture and of the hallmote, and with all liberties, easements, etc., to him, his heirs or assigns, and 3 customary tenants within the bounds of Modburley; rent 12s. silver p.a. at the two terms of the year, William, his heirs or assigns, and their tenants to be free of suits at John's court of Aldredeley and of all summonses and services at Aldeford, save impleading at the court of Aldredeley. *Hiis testibus Ricardo de Massy, Hugone de Venab', milite [sic], Willelmo de Modburley, Willelmo de Meynwarding', Rogero de Toft, Roberto de Wenynt', Ricardo capellano, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I]. 15th cent. copy (not free from error).

197. Gift by John de Birtheles, chaplain, to Jordan, his bastard son [*nutritus*], and his heirs or assigns of all his land in the territory of the vill of Modburlegh', with appurtenances. *Hiis testibus Willelmo de Modburlegh', Roberto de Wenynton', Roberto de Vernony [sic], Iohanne de Stanylondes, Iohanne de Asthul, Hugone filio Ricardi Fabri de Modburlegh', Adam [sic] de Kenenton', clerico, et multis aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I]. Seal, missing.

198. Gift by Roger le Warde to Henry de Modburlegh' of all his land and his tenement, with appurtenances, in the vill of Modburlegh. 1 May 1317. Seal, missing.

199. Gift by Laurence son of Thomas de Modburlegh' to John de Legh', kt., of 2 selions, together with a certain addition of land in the vill of Modburlegh': whereof one selion lies in *le Barchersefflat* between the land of the said John and a selion of William del Boure, the other selion, called *le Dychelond*, lies between a selion of William del Boure and a selion of Robert Fiket, and the addition lies in *le Sperthe* between *le Dichegreves* and the land of William del Boure lies next to it on the one side and the land

of Robert Fiket on the other ; as Laurence has no seal of his own, he uses that of Gilbert de Legh'. 22 May 1333. Seal, missing.

200. Gift by Richard Fiket of Modburlegh' to Elena, who was wife of John de Legh, for life (in exchange for sufficient turbary in the mosses of Modburlegh' to him and his heirs ; for housebote and haybote to him and his heirs in the wood of the said Elena and of the said vill, as her other tenants have ; and for common pasture to him and his heirs where the other tenants of the said Elena and the said vill have it), of a curtilage in the said vill which Emma, who was wife of Roger de Modburlegh', formerly held of him for a term of years, together with 2 selions of land on *le Nethercroftlondes*, the moiety of a selion on *le Mulnerudyng* between two butts which formerly belonged to William de Modburlegh', a selion on *le Mulnerudyng* between the land of the said Richard and the land of his mother Leticia, a selion called *Gangkemonisacre* in *le Birchenfeld*, a selion in *le Birchenfeld* between land of Robert Rabi and land of Ralph del Holys, the moiety of a selion called *le Stubbehallond* in *le Birchenfeld*, a selion in *le Holdefeld* between land of Nicholas de Laycestr' and land of William del Boure, the moiety of a selion in *le Holdefeld* between land of Nicholas de Laycestr' and land of Thomas Gleyve, a selion in *le Holdefeld* called *Huglond* between lands of William de Snelliston' and Robert Raby, the moiety of 2 selions in *Tattonstye* which William Fiket (the grantor's brother) formerly held of him for a term of years, a selion called *le Coppede Wiralehull'* which Philip del Bothes formerly held of the grantor for a term of years, a moiety of *le Blakehurthe* lying at the end of *le Dichelondes* next to the land of the said Elena, a selion in *Holdencliff* between lands of William del Boure and William de Snelleston', the moiety of a selion called *le Dichehallond* between lands of William del Boure and Thomas son of William son of Gilbert, and two parts of a certain piece of land called *le Sterthe* with appurtenances ; and the reversion of all the following lands and tenements which the grantor's mother Leticia holds in dower, viz. a messuage in which she lives, with appurtenances, a selion on *le Nethercroftlondes* abutting on the said messuage, a piece of land with a *meduepleck* in *le Mulne Rudyngk*, a selion in *Tattonstye* between lands of Robert Rabi and William del Boure, the moiety of a selion in *le Birchenfeld*, a selion called *le Helerenlond* in *Wiralehull'* next to the land of Nicholas de Laycestr', a selion in *Wiralehull'*, the moiety of a selion called *le Pyelond* in *Holdencliffe*, and the reversion of the third part of a piece of land called *le Sterth*. Richard further grants that all the aforesaid lands and tenements, together with the reversion to him or his heirs after the said Elena's death, shall remain to John de Legh, kt., and Matilda his wife and their lawful heirs, with remainder to the rightful heirs of the said John de Legh. 31 May 1334. Seal, missing.

The witnesses include William de Clymton' [sic], Justice of Chester, and Robert de Praers, sheriff of Cheshire.

Helsby (Ormerod, i. 415 note *b*) refers briefly and imperfectly to this gift.

201. Release by John, son of John le Legh, kt., to his grandmother Elena de Legh', of all his right, etc. in a moiety of the vill of Modburlegh', with appurtenances, for life, with reversion to him or his heirs immediately

after her death ; in return she grants that she will provide honourable maintenance for him in all things concerning his position. 24 June 1338. Seal, missing.

The witnesses include the grantor's uncles, William de Legh, kt., Robert de Legh', Peter de Legh and Gilbert de Legh'.

Cf. Ormerod, i. 415 note *b*.

202. Release by Richard son of Roger le Warde of Modburlegh' to Nicholas de Leycester and Mary, his wife, of all his right, etc. in all messuages, etc. which they hold in Modburlegh'. 5 Aug. 1340. Seal, missing.

Cf. Ormerod, i. 412 note *a*.

203. Indenture between Thomas Fyton' of Gouseworth, John de Brunstath, parson of the church of Modburlegh', and John de Brerton', chaplain, of the one part, and Robert le Grosvenour of Rudheth, of the other, witnessing that, whereas the said Thomas, John and John have granted to the said Robert and his heirs an annual rent of 100s. from all their lands and tenements in Modburlegh' at certain terms of the year, the said Robert grants that as long as John Domvyle and Cecilia, his wife, the heirs or assigns of the said Cecilia or any other on their behalf, find a chaplain to sing, say mass, and perform other divine service perpetually at Modburlegh' for the soul of William de Modburlegh', great-grandfather of the said Robert, and for the souls of others appointed, the deed granting the said annual rent shall be null and void. 6 June 1379. 3 seals, missing. (Fr.)

203a. Gift by John Legh of le Bothes, esq., to Thomas Mersedene and John Massy, chaloner, of an acre of land in the vill of Modburlegh', parcel of the mill-pond of *le Bothe Milne*, lying at the upper end of the said pond. 5 Sept. 1458. Seal, missing.

204. Lease by Thomas Bostok of Moberley to John Legh' of the Bothez, esq., of all his messuages, lands, etc. in Moberley and Werford, except a messuage in the holding of Elizabeth Bostok, for 21 years from Martinmas next following ; with right of distrain and re-entry. 19 May 1468. Seal, missing. (Eng.).

205. Indenture of covenants between John Legh' of Bothes, kt., on the one part, and Richard Highfeld of Netherknotysford, husbandman, Jane his wife (daughter and heir of Philip Swanley, late of Netherknotysford, deceased), and Ellen Highfeld, their daughter, of the other, whereby John leases for three lives to Richard, Jane and Ellen a messuage in Moberley and the close called *Rygewaye Closse* in Netherknotysford, and they sell to him all the messuages, lands, etc. in Netherknotysford which were lately the inheritance of the said Philip Swanley, deceased. 15 Sept. 1547. 2 seals, missing. [See 119-121 above.]

206. Lease for 21 years by John Leigh of Booths, esq., and Jane his wife, to Thomas Darbeshire of Ashley, husbandman, and Alice Baxter, widow of John Baxter, late of Moberley, of the messuage in Moberley occupied by the said Alice ; Thomas convenants to instruct John Baxter, her son, in the trade of a linen weaver, and to allow him to occupy one half of the messuage until he reaches the age of twenty one years, and also to keep Margaret, Mary and Joan Baxter, her daughters, until each reaches the age of sixteen years. 6 Dec. 1593. 2 seals, missing. [Cf. 211 below].

207. Bargain and sale by John Radcliffe of Ordsall, kt., to William Heild of Moberley, yeoman, of a messuage in Moberley in William's occupation and of a moss-room on *the Lower Mosse* in Moberley. 30 Nov. 1605.

208. Similar bargain and sale by the same to Ralph Bower of Moberley, yeoman. 5 Feb. 1606.

209. Bargain and sale by John Hyde of Urmston, Lancs., esq., to William Healde of Moberley, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Moberley in the occupation of Humphrey Awen of Moberley, husbandman. 27 July 1607.

210. Feoffment by Ralph Bower of Moberley, yeoman, to Roger Worthington of the Houghe in Wilmeslowe parish, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Moberley and a moss-room on *the lower mosse* in Moberley. 25 June 1608.

211. Lease for 21 years by Thomas Leighe, gentleman (one of the younger sons of John Leighe of Norburie Boothes, esq.), to John Baxter of Moberley, husbandman, of a messuage in Moberley in the occupation of the said John Baxter and Thomas Darbshire of Moberley, *petye chapman*, in the right of Alice Darbshire, wife of the said Thomas. 16 May 1615. [Cf. 206 above.]

212. Feoffment by Roger Worthington of Bollyn Fee, yeoman, to John Fox of Radnor, yeoman, and Ellen, his wife (daughter of the said Roger), of a messuage in Mobberley *alias* Moberley, lately purchased of Ralph Bower, late of Moberley, deceased. 22 April 1619.

213. Final concord between John Fox and Ellen, his wife, plaintiffs, and Roger Worthington and Margaret his wife, Geoffrey Bower, George Bower, Edward Bower and Richard Bower, defendants, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Moberley. 20 Sept. 1619.

214. Feoffment by John, Earl of Shrewsbury to Henry Shawe of the parish of Moberley, yeoman, of the close called *Millingtons Acre* in Moberley. 2 Feb. 1631/32.

215. Acknowledgment by William Leigh of Bouthes, esq., respecting a water course to be cut through *the Myll Feild*, part of the inheritance of John Foxe of Radnor, yeoman, in Mobberley parish. 24 Feb. 1636/37.

216. Final concord between John Leigh, gentleman, plaintiff, and John Foxe and Ellen his wife, defendants, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Mobberley *alias* Moberley. 24 Sept. 1638.

217. Bond of John Carrington of Mobberley *alias* Modburleigh, gentleman, Edward Carrington of London, gentleman, and Samuel Carrington of Bostocke in Davenham parish, clerk, to John Leigh of Northbury Boothes, esq., for the performance of covenants. 28 Feb. 1648.

218. Final concord between William Huet, plaintiff, and Nathaniel Robinson, gentleman, John Goolden and Margaret his wife, William Upton and Elizabeth his wife, and Edmund Houghe and Elizabeth his wife, defendants, respecting 2 messuages and land with appurtenances in Mobberley. 3 April 1648.

219. Deed of settlement by William Huett of Mobberley, yeoman, to Roger Gleave of High Leigh and John Hunt of Meare, yeomen, of a messuage with appurtenances in Mobberley, in trust for Margery Hueit, his wife, and Roger his son. 14 and 15 Aug. 1657.

220. Release by John Hobson of Mobberley, yeoman, Anne his wife, John, their son and heir, and George, another son, to Peter Leigh (son and heir of John Leigh, late of Norbury Booths, esq., deceased) of all their right, etc. in a parcel of land in Mobberley called *the little yard*, adjoining the north end of the mill called *Mobberley Milne*. 22 Sept. 1660.

221. Lease for possession by George Heald of Macclesfield, yeoman, to Thomas Gorst and John Parker, gentlemen, of his messuages in Moberley called *Broad Oake*, *Owens Howse*, and *Skiffe Riddings*, with appurtenances. 6 May 1684.

222. Similar lease by John Heyes, schoolmaster of Mobberley, yeoman, to Thomas Wood of Marthall, gentleman, and Isaac Worthington of Mobberley, yeoman, of the messuage called *Radfords tenement* in the Wood Lane in Mobberley. 20 Dec. 1692.

223. Lease for three lives by George Heeld of Macklesfield, gentleman, to Richard Toft the younger of Neather Knuttessford, skinner, of the messuage called *Mottersheds tenement* in Mobberley. 6 April 1705. Counterpart.

224. Similar lease by Ralph Leicester of Toft, esq., to Elizabeth Waterhouse of Bowdon, widow, of the messuage in Mobberley in her possession. 26 Sept. 1724. Counterpart.

225. Mortgage by William Whitelegg of the Lane End in Northern *alias* Northerden, and William Leigh of Mobberley, yeomen, at the instance of Mary Jepson (widow of George Jepson, late of Mobberley, yeoman; deceased), to William Royle of Hale, yeoman, of a messuage in Mobberley, late in the possession of Elizabeth Waterhouse and then in the possession of the said George Jepson. 11 June 1730.

NORTHWICH.

226. Lease for three lives by Robert Bromfeild of Witton, gentleman, to Thomas Wrench of Midlewich, victualler, of a messuage in Northwich in Joan Ridgway's occupation. 23 March 1649.

227. Lease for possession by William Allen of Moberley, gentleman, to Simon Steward and Ralph Renshawe, both of Moberley, yeomen, of his messuage, burgage, wich houses, lands, etc. in Northwich. 26 Jan. 1661/62.

228. Lease for three lives by Sir Francis Leicester of Nether Tabley, bart., to Ralph Broome of Northwich, gentleman, of a messuage in the Swine Market in Northwich; *all that parcell of building heretofore a wich house, but for severall yeares last past hath been converted into a stable, situate in or neare to the Wich House Streete*; and that *wich house place or spare parcell of ground* near the said stable. 20 Dec. 1695.

229. Lease for two lives by Ralph Broome of Northwiche, gentleman, to William Begaley of the same, saddler, of a messuage in Northwiche late in the tenure of Edward Begaley, butcher, father of the said William. 27 Feb. 1696. Counterpart.

230. Lease for three lives by Sir Peter Leicester of Nether Tabley, bart., to Peter Legh of Northbury Booths, esq., of a messuage in the Swine Market in Northwich, a stable called *the Red Lyon Stable*, a wich house stead close to the River, and that place where a messuage formerly stood situated

between lands late of John Broom, deceased, and the said stable. 4 May 1757.

OLLERTON.

231. Gift by Richard de Mascy and Isabella, his wife, to John de Legh' of a piece of ground in the vill of Olreton' to build upon, next to the hedge of the holt, and all their part of *barberinchal'* in the same vill, both wood and waste, namely, all the two parts of *barberingchal'* [sic] between the road leading from le Bothes to Olreton', on the one side, and the water-course [*doetum*] of Marthal', on the other; saving a piece of ground between two water-meadows towards le Bothes as a road to a certain mill-site on the said water-course as long as the said ground shall last, and when it fails, 40 feet in breadth for a road up to the said road from le Bothes to Olreton', with sufficient agistment of water and a site sufficient for a mill-pond and mill; to have, etc. freely, etc. with all liberties, etc. and with housebote and haybote and fuel in the wood of Olreton; rent 13s. 4d. silver at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, the said John doing suit at their court of Tatton' from quindene to quindene, giving the third best pig each year as pannage for all his pigs, and doing suit at their mill of Tatton until their mill of Olreton' is built, after which doing that suit at the mill of Olreton'; they also grant John and his heirs three tenants on the said land with commons and easements of the vill of Olreton', to be answerable to them yearly for 6d. silver and pannage for their pigs. *Hiis testibus Domino Reginaldo de Grey, tunc Iusticiario Cestrie, Roberto le Grosvenur, Ade de Tabill', Willelmo de Modburl', Willelmo de Meynwarding', Rogero de Toft' [sic], Willelmo de le Mere, Ade clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [c. 1281/1290]. 2 seals, missing.

Imperfect; only the last six lines and a few words at the end of the five preceding have survived. The remainder has been supplied from a contemporary copy enrolled on no. 326 [xxi] below. In this copy the rent is given, as above, as 13s. 4d. According to an endorsement on the charter it was 13s. 3d.

232. Quitclaim by Richard de Mascy, kt., and Isabella, his wife, to John de Legh' and Helena, his wife, of 13s. silver and 3d. of annual rent from that annual silver marc in which the said John and Helena are bound to the said Richard and Isabella for land held of them in the vill of Olreton'. *Hiis testibus Thoma de Leg', Ade de Tabbelg', Willelmo de Mara, Rogero de Aldredelg', clerico, Rogero de Toft, Thoma capellano, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II]. 2 seals, missing.

See Ormerod, i. 509. A copy of this quitclaim is enrolled on no. 326 [xxii] below.

233. Gift by John de Astylle to Thomas Norreys, Thomas Deafcyll, John Norreys, Richard Jankynson' of Tatton', John de Pulton', Robert le Fysher and Richard le Barbour of all the lands and tenements which he has of the feoffment of Hugh del Toft, chaplain, in the vill of Ollurton'. 11 March 1395. Seal, missing.

234. Release by Thomas de Tofte of Knottesforde to John Norres of Workesley, sen., of all his right, etc. in all those lands, tenements, etc.,

with all appurtenances, which lately William de Tofte, chaplain, his brother, had of the feoffment of John de Astille of Knottesford in the vill of Ollerton'. 6 Sept. 1440. Seal, missing.

See Ormerod, i. 509.

235. Lease for 41 years by John Legh of Bothes esq., to Charles Clerke of Overknotysford and Alice, his wife, of 4 closes in Ollerton and a *lowne* called *Wade lowne* on the south side of the *Bothe Parke*; rent, 19s. 8d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions; with right of distrain and re-entry; the said Charles grants to pay John 7l. sterling at the sealing of this indenture and *the said Charlys or his assigns shall hable themselfe or a sufficient man with horse and harnesche to wayte upon the said John Legh, his heires or assigns, to doo the kynges grace service in his warres as ofte and at suche tymes as the said John Legh or his heires shalbe commandyt to serve the kynges grace in his seid warres.* 10 May 1541. Seal, missing.

236. Grant by John Leigh of Norburye Bouthes, esq., to John Leigh, bastard son of John Leigh, kt., deceased (father of the grantor) of an annual rent of 4l. from messuages, etc. in Ollerton. 30 April 1573. Seal, missing.

237. Lease for 21 years by John Leigh of Norburie Booths, esq., and Jane Leigh, his wife, to Edmund Huett of Owlerton, husbandman, of a messuage in Owlerton in the joint occupation of the said Edmund and his mother Joan Huett, widow. 28 Feb. 1595. Seal, missing.

238. Assignment from John Ridgwaie the elder of Oulerton, yeoman, to James Downes of Tofte, yeoman, William Griffin of Moburley, husbandman, Adam Davemport and James Davemport (sons of Richard Davemport, late of Oulerton', deceased), of a messuage in Oulerton in the said John's occupation. 18 Dec. 1601. Seal, missing.

239. Lease for 7 years by Elizabeth Venables of Over Knotsford, widow, Sir Peter Stanley of Alderley, bart., and Peter Wilbraham of Deerfould, esq., to Peter Legh of Norbury Booths, esq. (son and heir of John Legh, late of the same, esq., deceased, and of the said Elizabeth), of a messuage with appurtenances in Ollerton in Richard Ward's possession and closes in Norbury Booths and Over Knotsford called *the Two Brundearths, the lilly cock hey, the Great Church Wood, the Little Church Wood, the Springwood plaine, the marled earth meadow, the Ollerton Heyes, the Sanfeild, and the Three Milnefeilds* (heretofore divided into 6 closes called *the Crowthers Croft, the Vernons Croft, the Maddock Wood, the Yarwoods Milnefeild, the Houghs Milnefeild, and the Brunt Croft*). 15 April 1680.

240. Mortgage by Peter Legh of Booths, esq., to Thomas Kinsey of Blackden, gentleman, of a messuage in Ollerton in George Okell's possession and closes called *the Brickiln Feild, Brickiln meadow, Parkwood, Duns, Church Yard, Spring Wood Plaine, and the Marld Earth meadow* (part of the demesne of Northbury Booths and situated there). 23 July 1707.

241. Bond of indemnity respecting the same [240]. 23 July 1707.

242. Mortgage by the above Peter Legh to John Parker of Fallowes in Nether Alderley, gentleman, of a messuage in Ollerton (in Joshua Walker's occupation), 2 messuages in Over Knottsford (in the occupation of William Barnes and Thomas Roylance), 2 messuages in Torkington (in the occupation of James Dodge and Robert Dodge), a messuage in Over Knottsford

(in Jonathan Yarwood's occupation), 4 messuages in Nether Knottsford (in the possession of John Worsley, Benjamin Harrison, William Delves and Thomas Lovatt), and 2 messuages in Ollerton (in the possession of John Ridgway and Samuel Johnson). 27 Jan. 1709/10.

243. Lease for 99 years by Henry Wright of Mobberley, esq., and William Wright of Stockport, esq., to Samuel Siddeley of Tatton, yeoman, of a messuage in Ollerton in Mark Pemberton's possession and a parcel of ground adjoining the same called *Hills Moss*. 4 Sept. 1742.

244. Lease for three lives by Willoughby Legh of Northbury Booths, esq., to William Henshall of Leigh, Lancs., merchant, of parcels of land in Ollerton called *Shaw's Intacks*. 4 Feb. 1809.

OVERTON, ETC.

245. Grant by Isabel, widow of Richard de Bedulf, to her father John de Legh of le Bothes of the custody, in socage, of certain lands and tenements with appurtenances in Bedulf and Overton' and the wardship of John, son and heir of the said Richard, until he reaches legal age. 16 Jan. 1418. Seal, missing.

246. Grant by John de Legh of le Bothes to his daughter, Isabel, widow of Richard de Bedulf, for term of her life, of a third part of certain lands and tenements in Bedulf and Overton' as her dower, viz. a messuage in which John de Trafford lives worth 9s. 4d. p.a., a messuage which John Wolriche holds worth 3s. 4d. p.a., a messuage in which Cecilia de Kenman lives worth 5s. p.a., a messuage in which William de Boteslowe lives worth 10s. p.a., a messuage in which Thomas de Glasbroke lives worth 9s. p.a., a messuage in which Geoffrey de Overton lives worth 13s. 4d. p.a., and a messuage in which John de Steple lives worth 8s. p.a. 4 Feb. 1418. Seal, missing.

Abstract in Ormerod, i. 495 note b.

ROSTHERNE. See also KNUTSFORD.

247. Memorandum of an agreement between William de Venables, of the one part, and John de Legh' and Elena, his wife, of the other, whereby the former leases to the two latter for 16 years all his land in Routhesthorn', with appurtenances; rent, 2 silver marcs at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. 13 May 1296. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, i. 430 note a.

248. Agreement between Richard Pypot and Robert de Wyco whereby the former leases to the latter for 16 years all his land of *Bromcroft* with his house, garden and curtilage, and with two parts of 2 gardens and a moiety of the house which Richard's mother has for 3 years after the said term; saving a certain selion, leased for 3 years; to have, etc. to the said Robert, his wife and children, with housebote and haybote and all liberties, etc., for 20s. silver given to the said Richard by Robert; rent, 5s. silver at Midsummer and 5s. at the Nativity, yearly. 29 May 1300. Seal, missing.

249. Gift by Richard de Masy, son of William de Masy, kt., to Richard de Bromcroft of a piece of land in *quythul* in the vill of Routhisthorn near the boundaries of *Nordschawe*, namely, from the high road called *le Salteresway*

across to the upper end as far as the ditch, then following the ditch and descending directly to the crutched oak [*quercum crucesingnatum*], from that oak directly across to the other crutched oak, and thence directly to *le Salterisway* [*sic*]; to have, etc. as freely, etc. as the land [not specified] which Richard has given the grantor in exchange. *Hiis testibus Willelmo de Venables, Radulfo de Vernun, Willelmo de Modburleg', Willelmo de Aketon', Rogero de Tofte, Thoma le Criur, Roberto le Grosvenour, clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [Edw. I/early Edw. II]. Seal, missing.

250. Release by Hugh de Venables, kt., to John de Legh and Elena, his wife, of all his right, etc. in all lands, tenements, etc. which they have of the feoffment of William de Venables, his brother, in the vill of Routhesthorn', so that Hugh, his heirs, etc. can have no claim on the same, saving the service of an annual rent of 12d. and a pair of white gloves at Midsummer for all services and demands. 12 April 1308. Seal, missing.

The witnesses include Robert de Holand, Justice of Chester, and Richard de Fouleshurst, Sheriff of Cheshire. Leycester (p. 349) cites a copy of this charter "taken out of William Vernon's Collections" with the incorrect reading "*praeter exitum redditus duodecem denariorum*". This is repeated by Ormerod (i. 430), where, however, certain other slips in Leycester are corrected from the above original. The passage should read: "*preter serviscium scilicet annualis redditus duodecim denariorum*".

251. Gift by John de Legh and Elena, his wife, to William de Dene, chaplain, of all the lands, tenements, etc. which they have in the vill of Routhistorn'. 7 Dec. 1315. Seal, missing.

The witnesses include Hugh de Audelegh', Justice of Chester, Richard de Fouleshurst, Sheriff of Cheshire, and Roger de Venables, Rector of the church of Rostherne. In Ormerod (i. 430 note a) "*Sancti Mathei*" is misread for "*Sancti Nicholai*" at the end.

252. Agreement between John son of Richard son of Henry de Halton' and Elena de Legh whereby he leases to her all his land, with appurtenances, in *le Wodehouses* in the territory of Routhestorn' for 9 years; rent, 3s. silver at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. 11 Nov. 1343. Seal, missing.

253. Gift by John Tochet, parson of the church of Middlewich, to John de Legh of le Bothes and Matilda, his wife, of all his mill, lands, tenements, etc. with appurtenances in Rouesthorne and Bolynton', together with a moiety of *Rouesthorne Meere*, a messuage in *le Hogh'* in which Thomas Whyther lives, a parcel of land called *Hogh' heth* in Mulynton, and a parcel of land in *Amotesfeld* in *le Hogh*; which mill, lands, etc., together with all other manors, burgages, lands, tenements etc. and all reversions of all lands, tenements, etc. belonging to him in co. Chester, the said John de Legh lately gave to the said John Tochet and to John de Marthall, chaplain, now deceased. To have, etc. to the said John de Legh and Matilda and the lawful heirs male of the said John, with successive remainders to the lawful heirs male of William de Legh, brother of James de Legh; of John, brother of the said William de Legh; of John de Legh, kt., and his wife Isabel; of William, brother of the said John de Legh, kt.; of Robert de Legh, brother of the said William; of Peter de Legh, brother of the said Robert;

and the ultimate remainder to the rightful heirs of John de Legh, kt. 29 Sept. 1427. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, i. 430 note a.

254. Gift by John, son of John de Legh of le Bothes, sen., to his son and heir John de Legh and Joan his wife (daughter of Hugh de Davenport and Margaret his wife) and the lawful heirs male of the said John [the grantee], of the following messuages, land, etc. with their appurtenances in the vills of Routhestorn', Bolynton' near Akedon', and Ollerton, viz. a messuage with the adjacent lands which Richard Humfrey holds on lease from him in the vill of Routhestorn' (yearly value, 17s. 4d.) and with arrears from the said Richard of 2s. yearly; a parcel of land called *le Mersshehey*, with the wood and closes attached to the same, which Roger Venables, parson of the church of Routhestorn', holds on lease from him in the same vill (yearly value, 22s. 8d.); a meadow called *Evwode Medowe* and the carrying-services belonging to it (yearly value, 10s.), which the aforesaid Richard holds on lease from him in the same vill; a parcel of land called *Longay* in Bolynton' which Robert de Aldcroft holds on lease from him (yearly value, 8s.); a messuage with the adjacent land in the same vill which William de Comberbach holds on lease from him (yearly value, 4s.); a messuage with adjacent lands which Robert del Wode holds on lease from him in the same vill (yearly value, 28s.), with carrying-services of 21d. yearly; a messuage with adjacent lands which Richard Wilkocson' holds on lease from him in the same vill (yearly value, 24s. 4d.) with carrying-services of 21d. yearly; and a messuage with adjacent land which John del Okes holds on lease from him in Ollerton' (yearly value, 12s.), with carrying-services of 21d. yearly; should John die without heirs male, the whole to revert, after the death of Joan, to the said John, son of John de Legh of le Bothes, his heirs and assigns for ever. 27 Oct. 1431. Seal, missing.

255. Gift by John Legh of le Bothes, esq., son and heir of the late John Legh, kt., to Robert Grosvenour, John Davenport of Davenport, Hugh Davenport of Hennebury, esquires, and John Mascy, son of the late Geoffrey Mascy, kt., of all those messuages, lands, etc. which the late Matilda Carington' held for life in the vills of Raustorne and le Mere. 12 Nov. 1464. Seal, missing.

256. *Be hit knawen' to our soveryn lord Kyng Henry the vij^{te} and all his nobull' Counsell' that Thomas Londener, servaunt unto sir John' Mayneways' [sic], parson' of Wermyncham, come w^t a lettur missyve frome our soveryn lord the Kyng unto Philippe Legh' of the Bothes, esquier, char[glyng] the said Philippe that he shulde not occupie the benefyce of the chirch of Raustorne apon payne of his grete displeasur. And also Paule Gyglis sende to the said Philippe a lettur by the same Thomas Londener and schode in the lettur that the Kynges gode grace hade so straytely charget and commandet hym y^t he schulde discharge the said Philippe of the ferme and occupacion of the said chirch and benefice of Raustorne by his lettur, for he said he durrest do noo nodur for the grete displeasur of the Kynges gode grace. And so the said Philippe receyvet the said lettur of our said soveryn lord the Kyng and of Paules also, and apon Sunday next aftur his comy[n]g home fro London' the said Philippe in Knottesford Chirch in the parich of Raustorne afor us sir Thomas Brone, parish prist of*

the said Chirch of Knottesford in the said parich of Raustorne, Thomas Huls, Thomas Latham, Richard Brone, John Burges, John Birkyn', Gefferon' [sic] Mascy and Robert Moscrope of the pariche of Knottesford, w^t all' the hole parichens ther, the said Philippe, by the Kynges commandement and Paulis dissir, refuset the said benefyce and never toke profetiz ner no maner of frutes perto belonging to the said parsonage or benefyce, nodur afor' his commynge home ner aftur. Into wyttenes whereof we all above namet have sette to our seals. n.d. [1495/98]. 4 seals, missing.

Ormerod, *op. cit.*, i. 432 note d, with some minor errors of transcription.

257. Feoffment by Philip Legh of Bothes, esq., to Thomas Huls, esq., Richard Holt, gentleman, John Byrkyn, Robert Mossecroppe and Hugh Mascy, of all his messuages, lands, tenements, etc. in Rothestorne in the tenure of Thomas Humfrey, Nicholas Humfrey, Thomas Roo, John Ormeston, John Koppok, Ralph Honkynson, Thomas Brenderth', William Bradshawe, Margaret Mosse, Thomas Koppok, William Massy, John Strynger, Roger Stynger [sic], Ellen Gaude, Thomas Chaydok and Thomas Hogh and all his messuages, etc. in Over Knottisford in the tenure of William Myllyngton, Richard Holt, Roger Byrkyn, Richard Thirlwys, Geoffrey Graunge and Roger Rygway, in all of the annual value of 20 marcs, to perform his will. 12 Aug. 1506. 3 seals, missing.

258. Feoffment by John Legh of Bothes, kt., to William Brereton, kt., Ralph Leicester, kt., William Moreton, esq., Richard Starke, esq., and Thomas Legh, gentleman (son and heir of Robert Legh of Highlegh, esq.), of his messuages, lands, tenements, etc. in Rothestorne, Yarwodde, and Bolynton, on condition that, on request, they convey them to him and his lawful heirs male, with remainders to his bastard daughter Margery and her assigns, until she has received from the rents, etc. thereof the sum of 200 marcs, and to his rightful heirs; he also enfeoffs the same feoffees with all his messuages, etc. in Overknotysford and Netherknotysford (saving lands, etc. in Overknotysford lately acquired from Laurence Wolmer and Elizabeth Bayle, widow, and lands, etc. in Netherknotysford lately acquired from John Taylior and Richard Highfeld and Jane his wife), on condition that, at his request, they convey them to him and his lawful heirs male, with remainders to Elizabeth Leicester, Anne Leicester; Joan Leicester and Katherine Leicester (daughters of the aforesaid Ralph Leicester) and Anne Starke and Katherine Starke (daughters of the aforesaid Richard Starke), until each has received 20l. from the rents, etc. thereof, and to his rightful heirs; attorneys to deliver seisin, Thomas Legh of Tabley and Hugh Meire of Rothestorne. 23 July 1548. Seal, missing.

259. Lease for three lives by John Leighe of Bothes, esq., and Jane his wife to John Lambe (younger son of John Lambe of Ashley, husbandman), Ellen Lambe, his wife, and Joan Rowe (daughter of Ralph Rowe, late of Rostarne, deceased, and of the said Ellen), of a messuage in Rostarne formerly in the occupation of the said Ralph Rowe, deceased, and Joan Rowe, late wife of William Rowe, late of Rostarne, deceased. 8 Jan. 1585. 3 seals, missing. Counterpart.

260. Surrender by Anne Barrett, daughter of Hugh Barrett, late of Rothstorne, husbandman, to William Leigh of Norburie Bothes, esq., of a

cottage in Rothstorne leased to Hugh by John Leigh, esq., deceased, and Jane his wife. 28 May 1635. Seal, missing. Endorsed: *Wryteinges concerneinge Anne Barrett and my selfe*.

261. Lease for 99 years by John Leigh of Northbury Boothes, esq., to William Hunt of Rothsterne, husbandman, of a messuage in Rothsterne in William's occupation. 26 March 1652. Seal, missing.

262. Lease for three lives by Peter Legh of Norbury Boothes, esq., to William Urmston of Rothsterne, husbandman, of a messuage in Rothsterne in William's occupation. 14 Sept. 1679.

263. Lease for 87 years by the same to his mother Elizabeth Venables of Over Knotsford, widow, of a messuage in Rosterne in Robert Wyatt's occupation and closes in Norbury Booths, called *the Crosse field, Brickill meadow, Brickill field, and Church Wood plaine*. 16 April 1680. Seal, missing.

264. Lease for three lives by the same to Edward Hill of Rosthorne, husbandman, of the messuage called *Chaddoks Tenement* in Rosthorne in Edward's occupation. 8 Feb. 1708/09.

SUTTON [NEAR MACCLESFIELD].

265. Copy of (a) Grant for life to the King's esquire John de Legh of Bothus of the vill of Sutton in the Forest of Macclesfeld to the value of 20l. p.a., provided that he account for any surplus. 1 Dec. 1398, and (b) Grant (reciting (a) and a second grant by Richard II to the same of 100s. p.a. at the Exchequer at Chester, both of which he has surrendered into the said Exchequer) to the said John of the said vill for life, to the value of 20 marcs p.a., provided that he account yearly at the said Exchequer for any surplus. 20 July 1401. 15th cent. copy.

Cf. Ormerod, iii. 757 note *d* and see *C.P.R.* (1396-99), p. 461.

266. Warrant to the Chamberlain of Chester, reciting letters patent [of 20 July 1401; no. 265(b) above] granting to the above John de Legh the town of Sutton for life to the value of 20 marcs p.a., to allow the said John the said 20 marcs p.a. from the date of the said letters patent, and to grant him respite from a payment of 10 marcs, disallowed him at his last account, until Michaelmas next following. 22 Oct. 1404. (Fr.) Contemporary copy.

Helsby's reference (Ormerod, *loc. cit.*) to this document is imperfect and incorrectly dated "in 7 or 13 Hen. IV".

TABLEY, ETC.

267. Release by John Alexander, son and heir of Hugh Alexander, late of Soudelow, to John Assheton of Tatton, esq., John Lancast' of Prior of Launde, Thomas Huls of Knottisford, esq., William Brok of Nether Tabley, John Bent and Robert Madok of Knottisford, of all his right, etc. in all those messuages, lands, etc. in Overtabley, Nethertabley, Soudelow and Knottisford which they have of his grant. 15 March 1512. Seal, missing.

268. Lease for possession by Joseph Toft of Knottesford, haberdasher, and Margery Toft, widow, his mother, to John Leigh of Norbury Boothes, esq., of certain rents issuing from lands in Sudlow and Tabley, from a messuage called *le Brodeforde* in Over Tabley, and from a burgage with

a selion in *le white bruche* in Lower Knottesford. 23 Sept. 1647. 2 seals, missing.

TOFT.

269. Certificate from the Overseers of the Poor of the Township of Toft to the Overseers of the Poor of the Township of Over Knutsford that Ellen Armett, a single woman, is an inhabitant legally settled in the Township of Toft. 4 Aug. 1808.

TORKINGTON.

270. Gift and quitclaim by Robert de Chaddekirke [name of grantee not given, see below] of all his land in the vill of Hephales, with all appurtenances ; to have, etc. to the said Thomas [sic] and his heirs, freely and quietly, etc. ; rent, 6d. p.a. to the chief lord and his heirs at the feast of All Saints for all secular services and demands ; for 65s. [sic] paid into his hands, Robert warrants the same to Thomas, his heirs and assigns for ever. *Hiiis testibus Viviano de Davenepord, Roberto de Dounes, Henrico de Worth', Willelmo de Bagileg', Henrico de Birschel', tunc coronatoribus domini Eadwardi filii Regis primogeniti, Iohanne de Motlawe, Rogero de Davenepord, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I]. Seal, missing.

271. Release by Alice, relict of William de Torkynton', to Richard, son of Robert de Torkynton', his heirs and assigns, of all her right, etc. in the lands and tenements of *le Lehe* between Torkynton' and Heppalis ; should any claim on the same be made, she binds herself and her heirs to pay him, his heirs and assigns, the sum of 20l. ; for this quitclaim Richard has given her 20s. silver. 8 Feb. 1315. Seal, missing.

Abstract in Ormerod, *op. cit.*, iii. 835. To the list of witnesses there add, at the end, "*Viviano clerico et multis aliis*".

272. Gift by Robert de Torkynton' to Richard, his son and heir, of all his lands and tenements in the vill of Torkynton' with all appurtenances ; to have, etc. to Richard and his lawful heirs by Agnes, daughter of Richard Vallentyn, of the chief lords, etc. 20 July 1321. Seal, missing.

See Ormerod, *loc. cit.* To the list of witnesses there add, after *Ade de Bredbury* : *Iohanne de Hyde, Iohanne de Honford, Thoma de Torkynton', Roberto clerico et aliis.* "Vallentyn" occurs, as above, with a double "l", but in the warranty clause has a single "l" only, as in Ormerod.

273. Gift by Thomas, son of Richard de Torkynton', to John de Legh, kt., and his heirs of 6 marcs of annual rent from Thomas's lands and tenements in Torkynton', 40s. to be paid at Midsummer and 40s. at the feast of All Saints ; with right of distraint. 14 March 1346. Seal, missing.

See Ormerod, *loc. cit.* ; this gift, however, is not, as stated there, dated "in the Feast of St. Gregory", but on the Tuesday next after that feast.

274. Indenture witnessing that Vyvyan, chaplain of Adlington', has received from John de Legh and Thomas, son of Richard de Torkynton', a writing respecting an annuity of 6 marcs [273 above] to be delivered to the said John or the said Thomas according to the covenants therein, and that the said Vyvyan grants that he will deliver the same in the form aforesaid. 14 March 1346. Seals, missing. (Fr.).

275. Indenture of defeasance respecting the above gift [273] by Thomas, son of Richard de Torkynton', to John de Legh, kt., and his heirs. 14 March 1346. Seals, missing (Fr.).

276. Indenture between Thomas Warde, son of Richard de Torkynton', and John de Legh, witnessing that the former has given to the latter all his part of a meadow in *Raneleghruydnges* containing $32\frac{1}{2}$ perches [sic] in exchange for $32\frac{1}{2}$ perches in *Grenlowemedewe*. 17 Oct. 1347. Seal, missing. With counterpart; seal missing.

In his abstract Helsby (Ormerod, iii. 835 note *d*) reads "acres" in each case for "perches".

277. Release by Thomas le [sic] Warde, son of Richard de Torkynton', to John de Legh and his heirs of all his right, etc. in lands and tenements in Torkynton' within the following bounds: beginning at *le Puysclogh*', thence to the corner of the ditch at *le Legh hous*, from *le Legh hous* following the hedge to *Nelhous*, thence ascending the ditch to *le Ruydynghed*, following the ditch here to *Hynderleghclogh*', thence following *Hynderleghclogh*' to *le Stanyelessiche*, ascending *le Stanyelessiche* to the ditch at the head of the same, and then following the ditch to *le Puysclogh*'. *Hiis testibus Iohanne de Danport, Iohanne de Hyde, militibus, Ricardo de Bromhale, Hugone de Walkeden', Roberto de Legh', Roberto de Dokynfeld, et aliis.* n.d. [mid-14th cent.]. Seal, missing.

Helsby's abstract (Ormerod, iii. 835) omits the bounds. He dates this release "1348".

278. Gift by Thomas, son of Richard de Torkynton', to his uncles John de Torkynton' and John le Valentyn of all his lands and tenements in Torkynton', together with the reversion of the dowry of Elena de Torkynton'. 19 Oct. 1348. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, *loc. cit.*

279. Gift by John de Torkynton' to John de Legh, kt., and his wife Isabel, of all those messuages, etc. which Thomas, son of Richard de Torkynton', gave to him and John de [sic] Valentyn in Torkynton' [278 above]; to have, etc. to the said John de Legh and Isabel for term of their lives, with successive remainders to James, their son, and his heirs; to William, James's brother, and his heirs; to John, William's brother, and his heirs; and to the rightful heirs of the said John de Legh and Isabel. 5 Jan. 1349. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, *loc. cit.*

280. Gift by Thomas, son of Henry de Worth', to John de Legh, kt., and his wife Isabel at fee farm of all his lands and tenements in Heppales next to Torkynton' within certain bounds settled by a perambulation made by the view of John de Hyde, kt., Richard Fyton', Thomas son of John de Davenport', Richard de Vernon, Hugh de Walkedene, John son of Henry de Honford, Robert de Worth', Edmund de Motterom, Edmund de Bosedon', Richard de Stanleg', Thomas de Torkynton', and Thomas de Torkynton', jun., upon a certain agreement made between the said Thomas and the said John de Legh; rent, 13s. 4d. silver p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions; if at any time the rent be 40 days in arrears, John and Isabel are to pay double, and they grant that it shall be lawful for Thomas

and his heirs to distrain for this double rent in Heppales ; should John and Isabel die without lawful heirs, the lands, etc. are to remain to John's rightful heirs. 17 Feb. 1349. Seal, missing. With counterpart ; seal, missing.

Cf. Ormerod, iii. 837.

281. Grant by the King to John de Legh of le Bothes of lands and tenements in the Principality of Chester forfeited by Ralph del Shagh', outlawed for divers felonies ; to have, etc. to John and his male heirs to the value of 20s. p.a., provided that he account for any surplus. 4 Feb. 1398. Seal, missing.

Endorsed : *Carta Ricardi Secundi facta Iohanni Leighe de terris vocatis Heppales.* (16th cent.) Cf. Ormerod, *loc cit.*

282. Gift by John Fyton, clerk, John Andrewes, chaplain, Richard Fyton' of Pownall' and William de Clayton, sen., to John de Legh of le Bothes and Anne, his wife, of their manor of Torkynton' with appurtenances and all lands, etc. with their appurtenances which lately belonged to Ralph del Shagh' in Heppals in the vill of Torkynton'. 31 May 1431. 4 seals, missing.

Ormerod, iii. 836.

283. Gift by Oliver de Legh', parson of the church of Davenham, and Roger Doumvyale, parson of the church of Lymme, to John de Legh of le Bothes and Joan, his wife, and the heirs of the said John, of certain messuages, with the adjacent lands, in Torkynton', viz. a messuage in John de Wheteacres' tenure worth 40s. p.a., a messuage in John de Addeshede's tenure worth 7s. p.a., and 2 parcels of land called *le Hurstes* in John de Sydebothum's tenure worth 10s. p.a. ; certain messuages, etc. in Modburley viz. a messuage in John de Chesworth's tenure worth 13s. 4d. p.a., and a messuage in John de Strethull's tenure worth 19s. 3d. p.a. ; certain messuages, etc. in Ollurton', viz. a messuage in Nicholas de Haselhurst's tenure worth 30s. 4d., 2 parcels of land called *le Halheye* in Henry de Cloes' tenure worth 6s. p.a., and a parcel of land in Janyne de Byrkyn's tenure worth 10s. p.a. ; and certain burgages in Knottesford and Knottesford Bothes, viz. a burgage lately belonging to Richard del Hall' worth 10s. p.a., a burgage in which Ralph le Smyth' lives worth 6s. 8d. p.a., 2 acres of land in *le Botheslade* in the tenure of John le Mercere and Nicholas de Haselhurst and a parcel of land called *lilycok hey* worth 20s. p.a., a parcel of land called *le Wollardesden* worth 13s. 4d. p.a., a parcel of land called *le Branderth'* worth 10s., a parcel of land in *le Kyrkefeld* worth 18d. p.a., and also, from a certain [illegible] demised to Richard Oumfray to fish on [super] Routhesthorn', 3s. 4d. rent p.a. ; and a free rent issuing from divers burgages in Knottesford and Knottesford Bothes, viz. 6s. from a burgage of Simon de Hatton', 5s. 6d. from burgages of Richard le Coke in his tenure, 2s. from a burgage in the tenure of William de Birkyn' [sic], 5s. 6d. from 2 burgages of John de Knottesford lately in Thomas de Buchorn's tenure, 3s. from a burgage of the said John called *le Tailne* [?], 5s. from 2 burgages of the said John (one called *Habels hous* and the one immediately to the east of it), 2s. 6d. from a burgage of the said John in Robert Boydel's tenure, 7s. 6d. from 3 burgages of the said John lately in the tenure of John Brech', Ellen Hodnet

and Agnes Dycon', 12d. from a parcel of land of the said John in *le Branderth'*, 2s. 6d. from a burgage of John de Astell', 5s. from 2 burgages of Richard de Wolmer in Alice de Wolmer's tenure, 2s. 6d. from a burgage of Ranulph le Maynwaryng in John de Broghton's tenure, 2s. 6d. from a burgage of the said Ranulph in William le Wright's tenure, 2s. 6d. from a capital burgage of the said Ranulph lately belonging to Edward del Shert, 2s. 6d. from a new burgage of the said Ranulph, 2s. 6d. from a burgage of the said Ranulph lately in Richard Cam's tenure, and 2s. 6d. from a burgage lately in the tenure of Richard Sondes. 1 Jan. 1440, 2 seals, missing.

284. Gift by John Legh of le Bothes, esq., to Richard Addeshede and John Torkyngton of a parcel of his land in Torkyngton called Heppalles. 5 Sept. 1458. Seal, missing.

See Ormerod, *op. cit.*, iii. 837, where this document is incorrectly dated "36 Hen. VI".

285. Letter of attorney from John de Legh, esq., son and heir of the late John Legh, kt., to Thomas Davenport and Richard Addeshede to deliver seisin to Thomas Jakson and Richard Merslond of a parcel of land in Torkyngton' called Heppalles. 20 May 1460. Seal, missing.

Ormerod, *loc. cit.*

286. Bond of Richard Bredbury of Merpull' to John Legh of le Bothez for the performance of covenants specified in an indenture made between them on 26 May 1459. 27 May 1460. Seal, missing. Endorsed: *Torkynton*.

287. Demise by John Legh of le Bothes, John Davenport of Davenport, Hugh Davenport of Hennebu[r]ly, esquires, John Mascy (son of the late Geoffrey Mascy, kt.), Thomas Jakson and Richard Merslond to George Bothe (son and heir of William Bothe, kt.), Richard Bothe (brother of the said George), John Dutton (son and heir of the late Thomas Dutton, kt.), and Hamon Bothe (brother of the said William Bothe, kt.), of the site of the manor of Torkyngton', surrounded by water, with the orchards and gardens there and a parcel of land called *le Pament* adjacent to the said site, and certain parcels of land in Torkynton' [*sic*] called *le Orchard Flatte*, *the Shepon Flatte*, *the Kerre Medowe*, *the Nether Rydynges*, *the Chippefilde*, *Dame Isabell' Acre*, and *the Long Lee*; also a messuage in Olerton', with the adjacent land, in the tenure of John Leghes and William Maykyn': and also *the Chapon Flatte*, *the Shagh' Greve*, and *the Marlet Erthe* in Torkynton' in the tenure of Richard Ingham; all of which lands, etc. the grantors, together with Robert Grosvenour, deceased, lately had of the feoffment of the said John Legh, esq., and which are worth 10 marcs and 14d. p.a.; to have, etc. to the use of Anne, daughter of the said William Bothe, kt., and wife of John Legh, son and heir of the said John Legh, esq., with remainders to the said John Legh, the son, and his lawful heirs, and to the said John Legh, esq., the father, and his heirs for ever; rent, to the said grantors and to the heirs of the said John Legh, esq., the father, 14d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions; with right of distraint and proviso for cessor of the remainder to John, the son, should Anne die without lawful heirs by him. 2 April 1465. 6 seals, missing.

Ormerod, *op. cit.*, iii. 836, where for "Payment" and "Cheponflatte" read, respectively, "Pament" and "Chapon Flatte", as above.

288. Letter of attorney to Bartholomew Doge or Thomas Alcoke, jointly or severally, to receive seisin of the above [287]. 2 April 1465. 4 seals, missing.

289. Indenture between John Legh of le Bothes, esq., son and heir of John Legh, kt., of the one part, and Richard Mershelond, Joan his wife and William his son, of the other, witnessing that John has leased for 14 years to Richard, Joan and William a messuage with a certain parcel of land called *Rydynges* on the west side of Torkynton' Grene; rent, 33s. 4d. p.a. at the two terms of the year, in equal portions; with right of distrain and re-entry; he also grants them sufficient *tynsull* [sc. brushwood, underwood] in Torkynton' for enclosing the said parcel, by the consent of the bailiff for the time being. 30 Nov. 1466. Seal, missing.

Helsby (Ormerod, *loc. cit.*) has apparently misread "quadem" as "quatuor", for he incorrectly translates "a messuage and four parcels". He also gives the rent as 33s. instead of 33s. 4d.

290. Award of William Bothe, kt., and William Davenport of Bromehall, esq., in a dispute between tenants of Torkynton' of Dame Anne Shakerley and Philip Legh of the Bothez, esq. 16 May 1504. 2 seals, missing.

291. Petition to the King by Geoffrey Shakerley, esq. (to whom the manor of Torkynton' has descended as the son and heir of Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Legh, esq., by Peter Shakerley), for a messuage and land in Heppals within the vill of Torkynton' which were forfeited in 1395 by Ralph del Shaw of Heppals on his outlawry for the murder of John Sherd. n.d. [1544/1547]. Contemporary copy.

See Ormerod, iii. 837 and note *b*, where attention is drawn to the value of this document for the descent of the Leghs and the manor of Torkington.

292. Indenture of covenants between John Legh of the Bothes, kt., and Edward Legh of Baguley, esq., of the one part, and John Torkynton of Torkynton, gentleman, of the other, whereby the said John Torkynton grants to the said John Legh all his portion of *Torkynton Comyn* and the said John Legh and Edward Legh grant to the said John Torkynton a moiety of *Torkynton Grene*, otherwise called *the Lagher Grene*, and a moiety of another parcel of common in Torkynton called *the Oldfeld*; John Legh also agrees to lease to the said John Torkynton for 21 years land belonging to a tenement in Torkynton in the occupation of Ralph Bredbury the elder; and agreement is made respecting two closes called *Meane Heyes* and land called *the Broodcroft*, in Torkynton. 26 Dec. 1556. Seal, missing.

Partial abstract in Ormerod, iii. 836.

293. Grant by the King to John Legh, esquire of the body, of all those lands, etc. in Torkynton called *Heppales* and all messuages, lands, etc. in Torkynton which formerly belonged to Ralph Shagh', outlawed for divers felonies. 3 May 1544. Seal, missing.

Cf. Ormerod, iii. 837.

294. Lease for three lives by John Torkynton of Torkynton, gentleman, to Nicholas Hegynbothom of Merple, yeoman, of a messuage and smithy in Torkynton in the said Nicholas's possession. 20 Oct. 1570. Seal, missing. Counterpart.

295. Lease for 10 years by Geoffrey Shakerley, esq., to Randolph

Wyllkenson, yeoman, of the manor of Torkynton' and all lands, tenements, etc. in Torkynton', Ollerton, Knottesforde, and Heppalles which were the inheritance of John Leigh, esq., father of Elizabeth, great-grandmother of the said Geoffrey; rent, 100l. p.a.; with right of distraint. 31 May 1576. Seal, missing.

296. Mortgage by John Torkynton of Torkynton, gentleman and Edward Torkynton, his son and heir, to Richard Wilbraham of Wiche Malbanke, gentleman, of 4 messuages in the tenure, respectively, of Robert Adshed, John Stels, James Wharmby, and Nicholas Higgenbothom, and 3 closes called *Rye Ridinges*, *Fyncheley*, and *the poyce and Edmond knoll*, in Torkynton. 19 June 1579. Seal, missing.

297. Lease for three lives by William Leighe of Boothes, gentleman (son and heir of John Leighe of Boothes, esq.), and Dorothy, his wife, to George Barnes the younger of Marple, wheel-wright, of a messuage in Torkinton in the tenure of George Barnes the elder. 18 May 1612. Seal, missing.

298. *A particular, indented, of certaine wrytinges* [15 Edw. II—3 and 4 Philip and Mary] *concerninge the landes of Torkinton and Heppales, w^{ch} wrytinges were delivered by William Leighe of Norbury Boothes, esquire, unto John Leigh, sonne and heire of the said William.* 30 Sept. 1630.

299. Articles of agreement between Francis Downes of Pychley, co. Northampton, esq. (on behalf of himself and of Francis Downes, gentleman, son and heir of Roger Downes of Wordley, Lancs., esq.), and John Leigh, gentleman, son and heir of William Leigh of Northburie Boothes, esq., of the one part, and John Torkinton of Torkinton, gentleman, William Arderne, gentleman, son-in-law of the said John Torkinton, and Laurence Wright of Offerton, gentleman, of the other, respecting *Torkinton Comon*, or *the Nether Comon*, and other parcels of land in Torkinton and Marple. 13 June 1631. With counterpart.

300. Lease for 99 years by John Leighe, gentleman (son and heir of William Leighe of Boothes, esq.), and Thomas Leighe of Over Knotsford, gentleman, to William Wharmby of Torkinton, husbandman, of a part of the common called *Torkinton Common* or *the Nether Common*. 12 Feb. 1633. Seal, missing.

301. Conveyance by John Torkington of Tarvyn, gentleman, to Alexander Hollinworth of Hollinworth and John Werden of Chester, gentlemen, of a moiety of a messuage in Torkinton which he lately acquired from Robert Torkington, gentleman, together with an annual rent of 9d. from various lands in Norbury, a messuage called *Le Rylandes* or *Lynneys tenement* in *Rylance Bollyn* and Pownall Fee in Wilmeslowe parish, and all other his messuages, lands, etc. in Torkington, Rylance Bollyn and Pownall Fee. 12 March 1634. Seal, missing.

302. Feoffment by Laurence Wright of Offerton, gentleman, to John Torkington of Tarvyn, gentleman, of two closes called *the Finch ley* and *the Merry Hill* and part of an acre of land lately enclosed out of *Torkington Greene* in the holding of Mary Arderne, widow. 10 March 1637.

303. Lease for 99 years by John Leigh, gentleman, son and heir of William Leigh of Boothes, esq., to Jane Bradbury of Torkinton, widow, of

the closes called *the Radich Croft* and *Round Croft*, in Torkinton. 1 Oct. 1638. Seal, missing.

304. Demise by the same to Robert Ridgewaie of Offerton, yeoman, and Jane Breadburie of Torkinton, widow, of the closes called *the longe field* and *the Reddiche Crofte* and *Round Crofte* in Torkinton. 4 Aug. 1640. 2 seals, missing.

305. Lease for possession by George Higginbothome of Torkinton, yeoman, to John Leigh of Norbury Booths, esq., of a close on the south-west side of the high road leading through Torkinton to Stopford, lately enclosed from the waste in Torkinton. 8 June 1657. Seal, missing.

306. Feoffment from the same to the same of the same. [Blank.] July 1657. Uncompleted.

307. Lease for three lives by Peter Legh of Northbury Booths, esq., to Thomas Bancroft of Marple, yeoman, of closes called *the Stack Feild* or *Stack Feild Meadowe*. 25 Oct. 1678. Seal, missing. Counterpart.

308. Conveyance by Ralph Arderne of Crookley, gentleman, to Francis Berrisford, citizen and merchant of London, of Torkington Hall with appurtenances and all other messuages, etc. of the said Ralph in Torkington in the tenures of the said Ralph, John Wharnby, Richard Preistnor, John Bayley, John Bennett and Robert Daniel, in trust for John Arderne, gentleman, son and heir of the said Ralph. 1 and 2 June 1686.

309. Assignment from William Bridges, citizen and draper of London, to Sir Thomas Stanley of Alderley, bart., and Henry Bradshaw of Marple, esq., of a mortgage by the above Francis Berrisford to the said William Bridges of the same [308]. 3 March 1686/87.

310. Mortgage by Peter Legh of Northbury Booths, esq., and Richard Legh, gentleman, his younger brother, to Hester Lowndes of Chiswicke, co. Middlesex (widow of Joseph Lowndes), of the same [308]. 23 June 1687.

311. Bond for performance of covenants in the above mortgage [310]. 23 June 1687.

312. Release by Ralph Arderne of Stockport, gentleman, to the above Peter Legh of the same. 2 May 1692.

313. Bond respecting the above release [312]. 10 May 1692.

314. Lease for three lives by the above Peter Legh to Henry Collier of Norbury, yeoman, of part of a messuage in Torkington lately in John Wharmbey's tenure and closes belonging to the same, viz. *the field att the doore, the meadowe, the little croft, the horse croft, the long shoote, the banck, the killns croft*, with part of the orchard and garden. 9 Aug. 1692.

315. Similar lease to George Barton of Torkinton, yeoman, of a messuage in Torkinton and closes called *the Furlong, the Hillylee*, three doles in *the Broad Crofts, the Barnefield, the Calfe Croft, the Acre, the Lower Juddole, the Higher Juddole, the Finch ley, the Merry Hills*, and *the meadow* held by widow Bennett. 27 May 1697. Counterpart.

316. Lease for possession by Ralph Callveley of Rixton, Lancs., gentleman, to John Ryle of Torkington, yeoman, of a moiety of *Adsheads Tenement* in Torkington and closes belonging to the same, viz. *the Schoales* in Bosden, and *the Cowduck, the Jack Croft, the Cotter lains, the Pearson croft, the Brooms, the Grindle Hill, the Sheephouse meadow, the Pye wood, the*

Broad Crofts, the Hollins Croft, the Pickford Crofts, the Blake Croft, the Crowbitch meadow, the little Woodfeild, the Wood, the Battle Doales, the Cockshuthay, the meadow and Copy's, the Hey, the Outlet, and the little meadow in Torkington. 22 June 1725.

317. Lease for three lives by Peter Legh, esq., to Hannah Dodge of Torkington, widow, of a messuage in Torkington and closes belonging to it called *the House Croft, the House Meadow, the Middlefield, the Coat Meadow, the Coatfield, the Pingot, the little Hay, the Crabb Orchard, the Great Hay, the Wood Croft, the Wood Croft Rough, the old Wood, the Old Wood Rough, the Marlfield, the Sindes field, the Twisting Yard, the four acres, the Brown Hills, the Outlet, and the Acre. 31 Aug. 1745. Counterpart.*

318. Similar lease to Ralph Oldham of Eccles, Derbs., gentleman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Torkington. 25 June 1750. Counterpart.

319. Final agreement between Peter Legh, esq., plaintiff, and Richard Gaskell and Mary, his wife, and George Antrobus and Mary, his wife, deforciant, respecting 5 cottages, a stable, a bakehouse and land with appurtenances in Disley Standley and Torkington. 9 April 1787.

TWEMLOW, ETC.

320. Confirmation by Ralph Longton' of Keryncham and Henry Gorsuch', chaplains, at the special request of Roger Knuttisford of Twemlow (against whom they have recovered his manor of Twemlow with all appurtenances), to the said Roger of a messuage in Newhall with appurtenances in the tenure of Thomas Huls, Richard Huls and William Huls worth 41s. 10d. p.a.; an annual rent of 47s. 8d. from messuages and lands in Ascheley formerly in Roger Bothe's tenure; an annual rent of 5s. 3d. from a burgage in Overknuttisford in James Wolmer's tenure; an annual rent of 18d. from another burgage there in Nicholas Wolmer's tenure; a parcel of land in the said Nicholas's tenure in Knuttisford worth 4d. p.a.; an annual rent of 12d. from a burgage in Overknuttisford lately in the tenure of John Denys; a cottage in Knuttisford in Thomas Jepson's tenure worth 6d. p.a.; a selion in *le Overtownefyld* in Richard Aldcrofte's tenure worth 10d. p.a.; a selion in the same in Thomas Ruggeway's tenure worth 10d. p.a.; a parcel of land in Overknuttisford in Thomas Tofte's tenure worth 4d. p.a.; another parcel there lately in Thomas Glover's tenure worth 2d. p.a.; a parcel of land in Knuttisford in the tenure of Ranulph Maynwaryng of Peover, esq., worth 6d. p.a.; another parcel there in William Mothersehed's tenure worth 16d. p.a.; an annual rent of 20d. from a burgage in Netherknuttisford in John Strethyll's tenure; a selion in Overknuttisford in the tenure of the same worth 12d. p.a.; an annual rent of 12d. from a burgage in Netherknuttisford in John Cryour's tenure; an annual rent of 5s. from another burgage there in Robert Massye's tenure; an annual rent of 4s. from another burgage there in Geoffrey Caryngton's tenure; a selion in Overknuttisford in the tenure of the same worth 10d. p.a.; an annual rent of 4s. from a burgage in Netherknuttisford in John Henshe's tenure; an annual rent of 5s. from another burgage there in Thomas Melyngton's

tenure ; an annual rent of 2s. from another burgage there in Walter Legh's tenure ; and an annual rent of 12d. from another burgage there in Petronilla Lathum's tenure ; to have, etc. to the said Roger for life, with remainders to Margaret, his daughter and coheir, and her lawful heirs by Hamon Stokley and to her rightful heirs, and to Mary (wife of Edward Bothe) and Ellen Knottesford, also coheirs of the said Roger ; with certain provisos. 31 May 1525. 2 seals, missing.

Partial abstract in Ormerod, iii. 135, where for "4ls. p.a." read "4ls. 10d. p.a." and for "Wolm" read "Wolmer". Helsby's statement that this document is dated "last of May, 12 (*not* 17) Hen. VIII" is incorrect ; the date is clearly 17 Hen. VIII.

WARFORD, GREAT.

321. Gift by Robert son of Robert de Wynninton to William Miller [*Molendinarius*], for his homage and service, of the site of a mill in the vill of Great Werford with a moiety of the pond, agistment of water at the said mill on the stream between Great Werford and Holreton', and an acre of land in the said vill, with suit of his tenants of Great Werford at the said mill with their corn growing there ; to have, etc. freely, quietly, etc. with housebote and haybote and fuel, commons and easements sufficient for the said acre and with timber in the wood of Great Werford for the building and repair of half the mill and the dams ; rent, a pair of white gloves or 1d. silver p.a. at Midsummer for all secular services, etc., saving that William and his heirs shall keep and maintain a mill and pond there at their own expense for ever and find all things necessary for the same and for the dams ; but Robert and his heirs or assigns shall carry a fourth part of the timber and millstones, as often as necessary, and shall pay toll there for their own corn growing in Great Werford ; and William and his heirs shall take turf and land in the said vill for the building and repair of half the mill, as the work requires it, shall find traps for taking eels and have a third part of them, shall find a miller, and shall have all the chaff, white and black ; saving to Robert and his heirs a third part of the whole toll of all kinds of corn of the said mill. *Hiis testibus Ade de Tabbeleg', Willelmo de Modbirleg', Rogero de Toft, Thoma de Leg', Iohanne fratre suo, Ricardo capellano et aliis. n.d. [temp. Edw. I, first half]. Seal, missing.*

322. Gift by William de Rousthorn, miller, to John de Leigh', of the third part of a water-mill in the vill of Great Werford with the site of the pond, and agistment of water at the said mill on the stream between Great Werford and Holreton' ; also of an acre of land in the said vill with suit of the tenants there of Robert de Wynninton' and his heirs, as William Miller [*Molendinarius*], father of the said William de Rousthorn, had of the gift and feoffment of Robert de Wynninton [321 above] ; he also grants to the said John an acre of land in the vill of Holreton', with suit of mill of the tenants there of Robert de Mascy and his heirs, besides suit of William le Dunne and Adam de Wyrinn, as appears more fully in the charter which the said William, his father, had of the gift and feoffment of Richard de Mascy ; to have, etc., freely, quietly, etc., with housebote and haybote and fuel, commons and easements sufficient for the said two acres and with

timber in the woods of Great Werford and Holreton' for the building and repair of the said mill and dams, as more fully appears in the said charters of Richard de Mascy and Robert de Wynninton'. *Hiis testibus Willelmo de Modburlegh', tunc vicecomite Cestris', Roberto de Mascy, Rogero de Leycestr', Rogero de Toft, Rogero de Holleford, Thoma filio Thome de Leigh', Thoma Deyners, et aliis.* n.d. [c. 1319-20]. Seal, missing.

See Ormerod, iii. 585.

WAVERTON.

323. Gift by Adam de Bostok' and Hugh le Tyn to John le Tyn of a piece of waste land within the following bounds : between the said John's field on the south and the high road on the east, and between his house, on the one side, and the large ditch at Waverton, on the other, as the hedge and bounds surround and enclose it ; rent, 6d. p.a., at the two terms of the year, viz. at Midsummer 3d. to Adam and his heirs, and at Martinmas 3d. to Hugh and his heirs ; with reversion to Adam and Hugh, namely, half to each, should John die without lawful heir. *Hiis testibus domino Radulfo de Vernun, domino Hugone de Venablis, militibus, Roberto le Brescy, Gylberto Dodefyn, Hugone Raer, Ranulfo le Tyn, Iohanne clerico, et multis aliis.* n.d. [temp. Edw. I, first half]. 2 seals ; one missing, one fragm.

Abstract in Ormerod, ii. 788, where "le Tyu" is read throughout.

WILMSLOW.

324. Release by John Carrington of Bollen, gentleman, to William Leigh of Northburie Boothes, esq., of all his right, etc. in Holmes Lane in Bollen, lately in the tenure of William Huitt of Tatton, husbandman. 24 Sept. 1628. Seal, missing.

MISCELLANEOUS.

325. Gift by Robert son of Herbert del Holis to Wladus' Walens of a piece of land in the territory of le Holis to build upon called *Le Hallond*, which Hugh de Hastheleg' formerly held at farm ; to have, etc., for ever, rendering thence yearly to the chief lord the services due and accustomed, etc. ; for this grant Wladus' has given him 10s. silver. *Hiis testibus Ricardo de Lostok', Iohanne de Nova Aula, Hugone de Vernon', Ricardo de Andirton', Warino de Croxton', Stephano Venatori, Rogero clerico, et multis aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I]. Seal, missing.

Helsby (Ormerod, iii. 167) reads, incorrectly, "Le Hallom".

326. Roll containing contemporary copies of twenty-two charters (late 13th-early 14th cent.) relating to lands, etc. in Knutsford, Knutsford Booths, Norbury Booths, Ollerton and Mobberley and, with one exception (no. xii), to John de Legh and Elena his wife ; at the end (no. xxiii) has been added a late 14th cent. memorandum respecting lands, etc. of the Mascy family of Sale. Parchm., 3 mm. As follows :—

(i) Copy of 21 above.

(ii) Release by John de Orreby, kt., to John de Legh and Elena his wife of all his right, etc. in the lands and tenements they hold in Northeburibothes and Knotesfordebothes ; rent, 20s. silver p.a. to him, payable at the two terms of the year, in equal portions, and 12d. p.a. to William de Tabelegh' and his heirs at Midsummer, both sums for term of

- the said John de Orreby's life. *Hiis testibus Domino Thoma de Birchelis, tunc Abbate Cestrie, Iohanne de Arden', Radulfo de Vernori', Hamone de Masey, Ricardo de Masey, militibus, Thoma de Legh', Willelmo Dayners, Ade de Tabelegh', Willelmo de Modburlegh', Willelmo de Maynwaryng', Rogero de Laycestr', Thoma capellano, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II].
- (iii) Gift by Adam Hurne to the same of a piece of ground in the vill of Knotesford called *Wollardesdene*, within certain bounds. *Hiis testibus Radulpho filio domini Radulfi de Vernon, Ricardo de Fouleshurst, Willelmo Gerard', Thoma de Legh', Rogero de Leycestr', Roberto de Huxle, et aliis.* n.d. [Edw. II.]
- (iv) Copy of 20 above.
- (v) Gift by William de Tabelegh', lord of Knotesford, to John de Legh' of a piece of ground and tenement in the vill of Knotesford within these bounds : beginning at the corner of the ditch of the little *haye* which Richard de Masey holds of him [William] at farm, then, ascending, following the hedge and ditch to the corner of the ditch opposite Robert le Chylt's house, thence, diagonally, following the ditch to the boundary of the said Robert's land, then descending and rounding that boundary to the stream which comes from Knotesford mill, across the stream to the opposite bank, descending along that bank to a point opposite a certain hedge of the aforesaid *haye*, then crossing the stream to the same hedge and following it to the corner of the ditch mentioned above. *Hiis testibus domino Ricardo de Masey, milite, Thoma de Legh', Ade de Tabelegh', Willelmo de Mara, Rogero de Laycestre, Rogero de Toft, Iohanne de Bexton', Thoma de Barton, capellano, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II].
- (vi) Release for 18 years by William de Tabbelegh' to the same of all his right, etc. in 21s. of annual rent which he is wont to receive from the said John de Legh' for *le Bothes* ; in 2s. of annual rent from a piece of ground which the said John holds of his feoffment in the vill of Knotesford, lying between land of Adam Hurne and land of Hugh, son of Elota, and extending to *Wallebrock* ; and in 12d. of annual rent from a burgage in Knotesford which John bought from Adam Hurne. 23 Aug. 1300.
- (vii) Gift by Adam son of John Hurne to John de Legh and Elena his wife of a burgage with appurtenances in the vill of Knotesford. *Hiis testibus Thoma de Legh', Willelmo de Modburlegh', Rogero de Laycestr', Ade de Tabelegh', Willelmo de Tabelegh', Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II.].
- (viii) Gift by Adam Hurne to the same of a curtilage which Margery de Fonte formerly held, next to the burgage of Thomas Tailor [Cissor], in the vill of Knotesford ; because Adam has no seal of his own he uses the seal of Robert de Cundecrif. *Hiis testibus Thoma de Legh', Ade de Tabelegh', Willelmo de Mer, Rogero de Toft, Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II].
- (ix) Gift by William, lord of Knotesford, to John de Legh' of all the lands and tenements which Adam, chaplain of Tatton, formerly held of him [William] for a term of years in the vill of Knotesford ; rent, 2s. silver at the two terms of the year, in equal portions. *Hiis testibus domino Ricardo de Masey, Iusticiario Cestrie, domino Hugone de Venables, Thoma de Legh', Ade de Tabelegh', Rogero de Laycestr', Roberto Wade, Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [1300/1301].
- (x) Copy of 32 above, omitting one witness.
- (xi) Gift by Adam Hurne to John de Legh' and Elena his wife of a burgage which Adam Baker [Fornarius] formerly held of him, together with a small house which William Baner held, and 1½ selions next to the said Adam's land, in the vill of Knotesford ; to have, etc. the said burgage and all the land belonging to it of the lord of the vill of Knotesford and the said 1½ selions of *dominus* Richard de Masey ; rent, 12d. p.a., when the other burgesses of the vill pay their farm, payable to Alice, formerly wife of William de Tabelegh', and, after her death, to the lord of the said vill, at the two terms of the year laid down in the common charter of the vill of Knutsford. *His testibus Thoma de Legh', Adam [sic] de Tabelegh', Rogero de Toft, Iohanne de Lostock', Thoma Snoubal, Roberto Pistor', Hugone le Harpere, Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I/Edw. II].
- (xii) Copy of 28 above, with two of the witnesses omitted.
- (xiii) Quitclaim by John son of William le Reneyd [?] to John de Legh and Elena his wife of all his right, etc., in a third part of the mill and mill-pool of the said John on *Wallebrock*, with the white and black chaff, in Northeburibothes and Knotsford Bothes, with all appurtenances. 18 Jan. 1310.
- (xiv) Gift by John de Arden', lord of Aldeford, to John de Legh' of all his lands and tenements in the vill of Modburlegh' for term of the said John's life, with appurtenances ; rent, 8l. silver at the two terms of the year, in equal portions ; if he die before the said John de Legh', the latter shall be quit of this rent for life and render yearly instead a rose at Midsummer for all services, etc. ; after the death of the said John de Legh' the said lands, etc. are to remain to John de Legh' his son and heir and to Matilda, daughter of the said John de Arden, and their lawful heirs, on similar terms ; if the said John, the son, die

before he marry Matilda, then William his brother, is to marry her, and the said lands are to remain to them and their lawful heirs for ever ; if John, the son, and Matilda, or William, his brother, and Matilda die without lawful heirs, the lands, etc. are to revert to the said John de Arden and his heirs for ever. *Hiis testibus dominis Iohanne de Orreby et Ricardo de Masy, militibus, Roberto de Pulford', Philippo de Eggerton', Ricardo de Fouleshurst, Thoma de Legh', Willelmo de Modburlegh', Rogero de Laycestre', Willelmo de Mara, Ade de Tabelegh', Willelmo Dayners, Magistro Rogero de Aldrdel' [sic], Thoma de Barton', capellano, et aliis.* n.d. [July 1302].

Cf. Leycester, p. 319 and Ormerod, i. 415.

- (xv) Letter of attorney from the above John de Arden' to his brother Peter to deliver seisin of the above lands, etc. to the above John de Legh'. 21 July 1302.
- (xvi) Release by John de Ardene, kt., to John de Legh' of all his right, etc. in an annual rent of 8l. for certain lands and tenements in Modburlegh' and in the lands, etc. themselves. 15 Aug. 1305.
- (xvii) Release by John de Arden', lord of Aldeford to the same of all his lands, tenements, rents and possessions in the vill of Modburlegh', for term of the said John de Legh's life, with all appurtenances, rendering yearly a rose at Midsummer, and confirmation of the same to John, son and heir of the said John de Legh', and to Matilda, daughter of the said John de Arden', and their lawful heirs, after the death of the said John de Legh', on similar terms ; if John, the son, die before he marry Matilda, then William, his brother, is to marry her with all the said lands, on similar terms ; if John, the son, and Matilda or William and Matilda die without lawful heirs, the said lands, etc. are to remain to the rightful heirs of the said John de Legh' [sic] for ever. 25 Aug. 1307.
- (xviii) Agreement between William de Modburlegh', of the one part, and John de Legh, of the other, respecting a fourth part of the mill and mill-pond of le Bothes and approwments in the vill of Modburlegh'. 9 Feb. 1304. (Fr.). Imperf. and stained.
- (xix) Grant by John de Arden', kt., to John de Legh' and Elena, his wife, of an [acre?] in the vill of Modburlegh' adjoining the water of Wallebrock. *Hiis testibus Dominis Ricardo de Masy tunc [missing,? Iusticiario] Cestrie, Hamone [de] Ma[scy], Radulfo de Vernon', Iohanne de Orreby, militibus, Alexandro de Baumuill, Willelmo Gerard, Willelmo de l. . . missing] clerico et aliis.* n.d. [1300/1301]. Imperfect and stained.
- (xx) Agreement between William de Tabbillegh', lord of Knotesford', and the tenants of that vill, of the one part, and John de Legh' and Elena, his wife, lords of Knotesfordbothes and Northeburybothes, of the other, respecting common pasture in the said vill. *Hiis testibus Hamone de Masy, Ricardo de Masy, militibus, Willelmo de Modburlegh', Thoma de Legh', Rogero de Laycestre, Ade de Tabelegh', Willelmo de Mara, Roberto clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [late Edw. I].
- (xxi) Copy of 231 above.
- (xxii) Copy of 232 above, omitting one witness.
- (xxiii) Memorandum respecting lands and tenements held by Robert son of Richard de Masy of Sale. n.d. [late 14th cent.].

327. Acquittance from Richard de Plumton', escheator in co. Chester, to John de Legh for his farm of Mara and of Mondrem from Michaelmas 1320, 4l. 8s. 10½d. for the forest bailiwick formerly of Richard Doune. 10 Nov. 1320. Seal, fragm.

328. Grant by Richard Fyket to Elena, wife of John de Legh, and her son, John, kt., of all his goods, moveable and immoveable. 27 Aug. 1337.

329. Letter of attorney from John Tochet, lord of Audley and Helegh, to John Heske and Adam Heske, to demand and receive from all his soldiers lately with him, and dwelling in the counties of Chester and Lancaster, all the thirds of goods and chattels which the said soldiers gained in the wars in South Wales while in his pay, from 2 February to the feast of Philip and James [1 May] next following. 1 May 1406. Seal (heraldic). (Fr.).

330. Plea of John de Legh of le Bothes for pardon for all occupations and entrances upon lands and tenements which belonged to Robert de Laycestre in co. Chester and for all contempts of a writ *de diem clausit extremum* which Hugh de Holes prosecuted against him and upon which an

inquisition held before the escheator found a title of right for Dame Margaret de Ardene and the said Hugh. n.d. [c. 1411/12]. (Fr.).

The pardon itself is cited by Helsby (*op. cit.*, i. 495 note b), who states that the lands, etc. were in Mobberley.

331. Bond of Thomas de Wever to Joan, formerly wife of Thomas del Holt, in 8 marcs, to be paid at Pentecost next following. 2 March 1439. Seal, missing.

332. Award of Thomas Feton' and Thomas of Wever in a dispute between Randle þe [sic] Maynwaryng, esq., John þe [sic] Maynwaryng, kt., and others of their fellowship, tenants and servants, of the one part, and John of Legh of þe Bothes, Roger his brother, and Ralph Bellow and others of their fellowship, tenants and servants of the said John of Legh, of the other, that the said Randle pay the said John of Legh 20 marcs. 24 Oct. 1441. 2 seals, missing. (Eng.).

333. Bond of William le Smyth, William Burges and Hugh de Wolfhede to John de Legh, lord of le Bothes in 13 marcs, to be paid at Pentecost next following. 26 April 1443. Seals, missing.

334. Similar bond of Thurstan de Newham and William de Honford of Yaiton, esq. 26 April 1443. 2 seals, missing.

335. Award of Edmund of Trafford, kt., and Thomas of Wevere, esq., in a dispute between John of Legh of the Bothes, William of Legh of Tymperley, and Richard of Assheton, *and all thayrs*, of the one part, and George of Caryngton', William of Caryngton', Piers of Caryngton', Edward of Caryngton' and Roger of Caryngton', *and all thairs*, of the other, that the said George of Caryngton' pay to the said William of Legh 5 marcs and to John of Barlow 6s. 8d., and that Piers of Caryngton pay to John of Chaterton' 6s. 8d. 30 Nov. 1445. 2 seals, missing. (Eng.).

336. Award of Edward the [sic] Massy in a dispute between Laurence Fyton', kt., Robert Bothe, kt., Laurence Asthill, John Asthill the younger and John Alkoc, of the one part, and John Legh of ye Bothes, Honkyn Laurence, John the son of Thomas Laurence, John Wodd, William Symcok, Robert Fawdon', John Boton', Ralph Are, Hugh Pycard and Richard Prest of ye Bothes, of the other, that the said Honkyn Laurence and John Legh pay the said Laurence Asthill', John Asthill' and John Alkoc 8 marcs for an attack on them made by the said Honkyn and supported by the said John Legh; that a dispute between the said Robert Bothe and the said Robert Fawdon respecting a piece of land in Werford be submitted to the award of Thomas Duncalf; and that the said Laurence Asthill cease to pursue a writ of trespass against Honkyn Laurence. 26 April 1446. Seal, missing. (Eng.).

337. Award of John of Leycestr' of Tabley, the elder, in a dispute between John of Legh of the Booths, otherwise called John of Legh of Knottesford, Thomas of Snelleston', Edward, brother of the said Thomas, Alexander of the Faloos, and John of the Wode, of the one part, and Thomas Danyell' of Tabley, the elder, of the other, respecting Margery, daughter and heir of William of Tabley and ward of the said Thomas Danyell'. 2 May 1450. Seal, missing. (Eng.).

See Ormerod, i. 495 note b.

338. Indenture of covenants between John Legh of the Bothes, of the one part, and Nicholas Lathum and Robert Lathum, executors of Thomas Lathum of Knottisford, of the other, respecting a debt of the said John to Nicholas and Robert. 2 Feb. 1458. Seal(s), cut off.

339. Bond of Joan, formerly wife of Robert Grosvenour, to John del Legh of le Bothes, esq., respecting the manors, messuages, etc. which she has for life by way of dower and jointure in co. Chester. 21 Sept. 25 [sic] Edw. IV. Seal, missing.

340. Subsidy roll for the Hundred of Buclowe. 1 June 1501.

341. Bond of Hugh Venables and Ranulph Clayton, gentlemen, to Philip Legh, esq., to keep an award of John Salter and Richard Hesketh' in a dispute respecting a weir belonging to a water-mill of the said Hugh. 5 Feb. 1517. 2 seals, missing.

342. Grant that Philip Lee, esq., and Elizabeth, his wife, may be special partakers of all masses, prayers, abstinences, etc. in all houses of the Augustinian Friars in England. 16 June 1518. Seal, missing.

343. Notification by Hugh Cokker, James Willemott, Laurence Bentley and Ralph Page that they were not associated with a Bill of Complaint made by John Meer, esq., and others against Philip Leghe, esq. 6 April 1521. 4 seals, missing.

344. Indenture of covenants between Robert Moscroppe of the Overtoune of Knottesforde and Hugh Moscroppe, his son and heir, respecting all Robert's messuages, burgages, lands, etc. in co. Chester. 6 April 1521. Seal, missing.

345. Bond of Thomas Wolmer, Hugh Moscroppe and William Anturbus to Laurence Wolmer, to keep an award by Geoffrey Graunge and Peter Morres in a dispute between them. 3 Nov. 1529.

346. Bond of Margaret Moscrop of Overknotysford, widow, to John Legh of Bothes, kt., for the performance of covenants contained in an indenture between them. 20 Nov. 1547.

347. Grant by William Brereton of Brereton, esq., that John Leighe of Boothes, esq., may, notwithstanding a Statute Merchant between them, demise for 21 years or three lives lands, etc. in co. Chester whereof John is seised, provided that his wife Jane Leighe (William's sister) give her consent. 20 July 1576.

348. Acknowledgment by Thomas Fairfax of Liverpool, Lancs., gentleman, and Anne, his wife, of the receipt of part of the marriage portion of the said Anne, daughter of John Leighe of Norbury Boothes, esq., deceased. 8 April 1618. 2 seals, missing.

349. Similar acknowledgment by the same. 29 March 1619. 2 seals, missing.

350. Bond of George Booth of Dunham Massye, kt. and bart., and his son and heir William Booth to John Leighe of Over Knottesford, son and heir of William Leighe of Norbury Boothes, esq., for the performance of covenants. 30 Oct. 1634.

351. Writ for William Leigh, esq., late Sheriff of co. Chester, his Deputy, etc., to deliver to Thomas Delves, kt. and bart., appointed Sheriff, the seal,

writs, rolls and all other things belonging to the said office. 21 Oct. 1636. Seal, cut off.

352. Quietus for William Leigh, esq., late Sheriff of co. Chester. 8 March 1640/41.

353. Demise for 100 years by William Stanley to Allan Pennington of Chester, doctor of physic, of premises with appurtenances in [*place missing*]. [*Day and month missing*] 1657. Seal, missing. Imperf., the right half only of the document having survived.

354. Writ for John Leigh, esq., late Sheriff of co. Chester, his Deputy, etc., to deliver to [*torn*] of Davenport, esq., appointed Sheriff, the seal, writs, rolls and all other things belonging to the said office. 6 Dec. 1658.

355. Licence to Elizabeth Leigh of Booths, widow, to eat meat during Lent. 5 March 1660/61.

356. Interrogations to be administered to witnesses to be examined on behalf of Robert Venables, esq., and Elizabeth, his wife, defendants, against John Gandy, complainant. n.d. [17th cent.; post 16 April 1660.]

357. Appointment of Peter Legh, esq., as Sheriff of co. Chester. 11 Dec. 1691. Seal, missing.

358. Bond of Peter Legh of Northbury Boothes, esq., to Ralph Lowndes of Lea Hall in Wimblesley, clerk, for the performance of covenants. 29 Sept. 1693.

359. Appointment of Ruth, wife of Peter Lee of Booth, esq., to be in charge of Anna Brockholes, daughter of John Brockholes of Claughton, Lancs., esq., papal recusant. 26 June 1697.

360. Bond of Peter Legh of Northbury Boothes, esq., to Henry Wright of Cliffords Inn, London, esq., for the performance of covenants. 22 Oct. 1698.

361. Bond of indemnity of Richard Legh of Northbury Boothes, esq., to Thomas Willys, esq. 12 June 1718.

362. Appointment by George, Earl of Cholmondeley, of Peter Legh, esq., as one of his Deputy Lieutenants for the county of Chester and the county of the city of Chester. 8 July 1757.

INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES.

- Thomas, 270.
the Acre, 315, 317.
 Acson, Margaret, 132; Randolph, 125-127.
 Acton, John, 170; Mary, 180.
 Adam, chaplain of Tatton, 326 (ix).
 — clerk, 231.
 — s. Walter, *see* Walter.
 Addeshede, John de, 283; Richard, 284-285.
 Adlington (Adlinton', Adlynton'), chaplain of, *see* Vyvyan.
Adsheads Tenement (Torkington), 316.
 Adshed, Robert, 296.
 Agden (Akedon'), 254.
 Aketon', William de, 249.
 Alcoke, Thomas, 288.
 Aldcroft(e), Geoffrey, 148, 151-152; Isota, 125-127; Jeffrey, 167; Richard, 320; William, 125-127.
 Aldcroft, Robert de, 254.
 Aldeford, *see* Aldford.
 Alderley, 1, 239, 309; (Aldredeley), court of, 196.
 — Nether, 1.
 Aldford (Aldeford), 196; lord of, *see* Arden, John de, kt.
 Aldredeley, *see* Alderley.
 Aldredelg', Aldrdel', Aldrideleg', Roger de, clerk, 32, 232, 326 (xiv).
 Alexander, Elizabeth, *see* Hassall'; Hugh, 267; John, s. Hugh, 267; John, 110.
 Alisaunder, Thomas, 84.
 Alkoc, John, 336.
 Allen, William, 227.
Alexanders ground (Sudlow), 176.
 Allyn, William, 149.
 Alta Lega, Hugh de, *see* Audley.
 Amelye, Ranulf, 31; Thomas s. William s., 34.
Amotesfeld, 253.
 Ancres, William, 116; *see also* Ankers.
 Anderton, 1; Hall, 1.
 Andirton, Richard de, 325.
 Andrewe, John, chaplain, 282.
 Ankers, John, 179; William, 119-121, 132; *see also* Ancres.
 Antrobus, Antrobuz, Anturbus, George, 319; Mary, 319; Richard, 159-160; Robert, 155; William, 108, 117, 345.
 Archebalt, Elena, 76.
 Arden, Ardene, John de, kt. (lord of Aldford), 35, 326 (ii) (xiv) (xvi) (xvii) (xix); Dame Margaret de, 330; Matilda, dau. John de, kt., 326 (xiv) (xvii), *see also* Legh; Peter, brother of Sir John de, 326 (xv). Cf. Ardern, Arderne.
 Ardern, John de, 36. Cf. Arden, Arderne.
 Arderne, John de, kt., 196; John, 308; Mary, 302; Ralph, of Crookiley, 308; Ralph, of Stockport, 312-313; William, 299. Cf. Arden, Ardern.
 Are, Ralph, 336; William de, 58, 63, 65, 67, 76.
 Armett, Ellen, 269.
 Ashley (Ascheley, Asheley), 16, 206, 320.
 Ashton, Dorothy [w. John Legh (d. 1660)], 162; Henry, chaplain, 108.
 Ashton-upon-Mersey (Assheton'), rector of, *see* Baguley, William de.
 Aspelwalle, Robert, chaplain, 38.
 Assheton', *see* Ashton-upon-Mersey.
 Assheton', John, 267; Richard of, 335.
 Astell', John de, 283.
 Asthill, John, the younger, 336; Laurence, 336.
 Asthul, John de, 197.
 Asthull, Thomas de, 61.
 Astelle, John de, 234.
 Aston, John, 179.
 Astylle, John de, 233.
 Atkynson, John, 97.
 Audley (Alta Lega, Audeleg'), Hugh de, Just. of Chester, 6, 251.
 Audley and Heighley (Heleg'), Staffs., lord of, *see* Tochet, John.
 Augustinian Friars, 342.
 Aula, John de, *see* Hall.
 Averell', Ibeta, w. Henry, 50.
 Awen, Humphrey, 209.
 Ayliston', Robert de, 24.
Babrinchall', *barberin[g]chal'* (Ollerton), 25, 231; mill, 25.
 Bagileg', William de, *see* Baguley.
 Baguley (Bagl'), 2, 292.
 Baguley (Baggeleg', Bagileg', Bagl', Bagulegh'), John, s. William de, 2; Mary, 182; Richard, s. William de, 38; Thomas de, 8, 40; William de, 6, 24, 270; William de, kt., 35; William de, chaplain, 53, 57; William de, rector of Ashton-upon-Mersey, 59. Cf. Begaley.
 Baker [*Fornarius*], Adam, 32, 326 (xi); [*Pistor*], Robert, 326 (xi).
Bakhouse Burgage (Knutsford Booths), 95.
the banck (Torkington), 314.
 Bancroft, Thomas, 307.
 Baner, William, 326 (xi).
barberin(g)chal', *see* *Babrinchall'*.
 Barbour, Richard le, 233.
le Barchersefflat (Mobberley), 199.
 Barington, John, 125-127.
 Barker, Henry le, 30.
 Barlow, John of, 335.
the Barnefeld (Norbury Booths), 147.
the Barnefeld (Torkington), 315.
 Barnes, George, the elder, 297; George, the younger, 297; William, 242.
 Barrett, Anne, 260; Hugh, 260.
 Barton, George, 315; Thomas de, chaplain, 326 (v) (xiv).

- Bate, Humphrey, 134; Thomassin, 134, 140, 147; William, 140, 147.
the Battle Doles (Torkington), 316.
 Baumuill', Alexander de, 21, 326 (xix).
 Baxter, Alice, w. John, 206; Elena, w. Henry le, 77; Henry le, 77; Joan, 206; John le, 44; John, 152; John, of Mobberley, 211; John, s. Alice, 206; Margaret, 206; Mary, 206.
 Bayle, Elizabeth (dau. Thomas Chapman), 116, 122, 258.
 Bayley, John, 308.
 Bedulf, *see* Biddulph.
 Bedulf, Isabel [dau. John de Legh (d. 6 Hen. 6)], wid. Richard de, 245-246; John, s. Richard de, 245.
 Begaley, Edward, 229; William, 229. Cf. Baguley.
 Beighton, Samuel, 171.
 Bellow, Ralph, 332.
 Bennett, John, 308; widow, 315.
 Bent, John, 96-97, 100, 267.
 Bente, Robert, 84; Thomas, 125-127.
 Bentley, Laurence, 343.
 Berrisford, Francis, 308-310.
 Bertles, Margaret, 176; William, 176; William, s. William, 176.
 Bexton, 134, 140.
 Bexton, John de, 28, 30, 34, 326 (v).
 Biddulph (Bedulf), Staffs., 245-246.
 Birchel', Henry de, 270.
 Birchels, Thomas de, Abbot of Chester, 326 (ii).
le Birchenfeld (Mobberley), 200.
le Birchynfeld (Knutsford), 101.
 Birkyn', John, 256; William de, 283. Cf. Byrkyn.
 Birtheles, John de, chaplain, 197; Jordan, bastard son of John de, 197.
 Blacburne, Hugh, 116.
 Blackden (Blakeden), 13, 240.
the Blake Croft (Torkington), 316.
 Blakeden, *see* Blackden.
le Blakehurthe (Mobberley), 200.
 Blakwall, Robert, 94.
the Blente Erthe, 133.
 Bobanhill', *see* Bubnell.
 Boithes, *see* Booths.
 Bolinton', *see* Bollington.
 Bolinton', Bolynton', Matilda, formerly w. Richard, s. William de, 6; Richard, s. William de, 4-6; William, s. Nicholas de, 4-6.
 Bollin (Bollen), 324; Holmes Lane in, 324.
 — Fee (Bollyn Fee), 212.
 — (Bolyn), R., 6.
 Bollington (Bolinton', Bollynton'), deeds relating to, 4-12, 71, 94, 137, 142-143, 151-152, 165, 184, 187, 253-254, 258.
 Bollyn Fee, *see* Bollin Fee.
 Bolyn, R., *see* Bollin, R.
 Bolynton', *see* Bolinton'.
 Booth, *see* Booths.
 Booth (Bouthe), Sir George, 10, 161, 350; William, 161, 350. Cf. Bothe, Bothes.
Booth Lane (Norbury Booths), 144.
 Booths (Boithes, Booth(es), etc.), *see under* Knutsford.
 Bosden (Bossen), 165, 184, 316.
 Bosdon, John, 89.
 Bosdon', Edmund de, 280.
 Bossen, *see* Bosden.
 Bostock (Bostocke), in Davenham par., 217.
 Bostok, Adam de, 323; Elizabeth, 204; Thomas, 204.
 Boteslowe, William de, 246.
 Both', William del, kt., sheriff of Cheshire, 81.
 Bothe, Anne, dau. Sir William, *see* Legh; George, 287; Hamon, 287; Harry of the, 3; Mary (Knutsford), w. Edward, 320; Richard, 287; Robert, kt., 336; Roger, 320; William, kt., 287, 290. Cf. Booth, Bothes.
the Bothe Parke, 235.
 Bothes, *see* Booths.
 Bothes, Philip del, 200. Cf. Booth, Bothe.
le Both(es)lade (Over Knutsford), 100, 283.
 Bothez, Bothis, Bothus, Bothys, *see* Booths.
 Boton', John, 336.
 Boudon', John de, 24.
 Boure, William del, 199-200.
 Bouthe, Sir George, *see* Booth.
 Bouthes, *see* Booths.
 Bow, Ellen, 151-152.
 Bowdon, 10, 224.
 Bower, Edward, 213; Geoffrey, 213; George, 213; Ralph, 208, 210, 212; Richard, 213.
 Bowthes, *see* Booths.
 Boydell', Boydelle, Geoffrey, 192; Hugh, 79; John, kt., 21; John, 191; John, s. Margery, 191; Margery, wid. Laurence, 191; Robert, 283.
 Brabayn, Oliver le, 50.
 Bradbury, Breadburie, Jane, 303-304.
 Bradshaw, Henry, 309.
 Bradshawe, William, 257.
 Bramhall (Bromehall), 290.
the Brandearthes, the Brundeardes, 158, 161. Cf. *Two Brundeardes*.
le Branderth, 283.
 Breadburie, Jane, *see* Bradbury.
 Brech', John, 283.
 Bredbury, Adam de, 272; Ralph, the elder, 292; Richard, 286.
 Brenderth', Thomas, 257.
 Brereton, 137-138, 347.
 Brereton, Sir Andrew, 94; Anne, wid. Sir Andrew, 94; Elizabeth, dau. Sir Andrew, 94, *see also* Legh; Jane, *see* Legh; (Brerton'), John de, chaplain, 203; William, kt., 122, 258; William, s. Sir Andrew, 94; William, s. William, 94; William, 137-138, 347.
 Brescy, Robert le, 323.
the brickhill feild, Brickill field, the Brickiln Feild (Norbury Booths), 158, 161, 240-241, 263.
the Brickhill—, Brickill—, Brickiln meadowe (Norbury Booths), 158, 161, 240-241, 263.
 Bridges, William, 309.
 Briercliffe, Lancs., 18.
 Briggs, Thomas, 155.
the Broad Crofts (Torkington), 315-316. Cf. *Broadcroft*.
Broad Oake (Mobberley), 221.
 Brocke, Thomas, 108.

- Brockholes, Anna, dau. John, 359.
le Brodeforde (Over Tabley), 268.
 Brodeforthe, John de, 41.
 Broghton', John de, 283.
 Brok, William, 267.
Bromcroft (Rostherne), 248.
 Bromcroft, Richard de, 249.
 Brome, Joan del, 63.
 Bromehall, *see* Bramhall.
 Bromfeild, Robert, 226.
 Bromhale, Richard de, 277.
 Bromhall, John, 179-180.
 Brone, Richard, 256; Thomas, parish priest of Knutsford, 256.
the Broodcroft (Torkington), 292. Cf. *Broad Crofts*.
 Brooke, Francis Mottershead, 193; John, 178; Peter, 193.
 Broom, John, 230.
 Broome, Ralph, 228-229.
the Brooms (Torkington), 316.
 Broster, James, 123.
 Brotherst, William, 179.
the Brown Hills, 317.
the Brundearthes, *see* *Brandearthes*.
 Brunstath, John de, parson of the church of Mobberley, 203.
the Brunt Croft, 239.
 Bubnell (Bobanhill), *Derbs.*, 3.
 Buchorn', Thomas de, 283.
 Bucklow (Buclowe) Hundred, subsidy roll, 340.
 Burges, Geoffrey, 125-127; John, 97, 256; William, 333.
 Burgess, William, 96-97.
 Burghley, *see* Cecil, William.
 Burnham, John de, Treasurer of the Household of Edward, Earl of Chester, 35.
 Buthes, *see* Booths.
 Byley (Byveley), 142, 145, 145a.
the Byrchen feildes or *Byrchen heyas* (Norbury Booths), 147.
 Byrkyn', Janyn' de, 283; John, 257; Roger, 257. Cf. *Birkyn'*.
 Byveley, *see* Byley.
 Cachehare, Agnes, dau. Robert, 102; Robert, 89, 102.
the Calfe Croft, 315.
 Callveley, Ralph, 316.
 Cam, Elizabeth, 65; Elizabeth, wid. Henry, 50; Henry, 48, 50; Ibeta, dau. Elizabeth, *see* Averell'; Richard, 283.
 Carington', Matilda, 255. Cf. *Carrington*, *Caryngton'*.
 Carrington, Edward, 217; John, of Bollin, 324; John, of Mobberley, 217; Samuel, clerk, 217. Cf. *Carington'*, *Caryngton'*.
 Caryngeham, *see* Kermincham.
 Caryngton', Edward of, 335; Geoffrey, 320; George of, 335; Piers of, 335; Roger of, 335; William de, 24; William of, 335. Cf. *Carington'*, *Carrington*.
 Cecil, William, Baron Burghley, p. 229.
 Chaddekirke, Robert de, 270.
Chaddoks Tenement (Rostherne), 264.
 Chadedocke, John, clerk, 147.
 Chapman, Elizabeth, dau. Thomas, *see* Bayle; Thomas, 116.
the Chapon Flatte (Torkington), 287-288.
 Chaterton', John of, 335.
 Chaydok, Thomas, 257.
 Checkley (Checkyle), rector of, *see* Savage, Thomas.
 Chedle, Roger de, kt., 24.
 Chedwycke, Ralph, warden of Nether Knutsford Chapel, 110.
 Chelford, 15.
 Cheshire, Deputy Lieutenant of, *see* Legh, Peter.
 — escheator of, *see* Plumton, Richard de.
 — gentry, p. 230.
 — mills, p. 232.
 — sheriffs of, *see* Both, William del, kt.; Danyers, Thomas; Delves, Thomas, kt.; Fouleshurst, Richard de; Legh, John; Legh, Peter; Legh, William; Mobberley, William de; Praers, Robert de.
 Chessworthe, Thomas, 102.
 Chester, 27, 47, 301, 353.
 — Abbot and Convent of St. Werburgh, p. 229, 15; Abbot of, 35. *See also* *Birchelis*, Thomas de.
 — chamberlain of, 266. *See also* *Ruggelegh'*, Simon de; Tunstall, Richard, kt.
 — Dean and Chapter of, 15; Dean of, *see* Mallory, Thomas.
 — Earl of, 46; Edward, Earl of, 35.
 — Exchequer at, 265.
 — Hospital of St. John without the North Gate, p. 229.
 — Justices of, *see* Audley, Hugh de; Clinton, William de; Ferrer, Thomas; Grey, Reginald de; Holand, Robert de; Massey, Richard de, (kt.); Shrewsbury, John, Earl of.
 — Mayor of, *see* Gammell, Edmund.
 — Treasurer of the Household of Edward, Earl of, *see* Burnham, John de.
 Chester, Richard, 103.
 Chesworth, John de, 283.
the Chippesilde (Torkington), 287-288.
 Chiswick (Chiswicke), Middx., 310.
 Cholmley, *see* Cholmondley.
 Cholmondeley, George, Earl of, 362.
 Cholmond(e)ley, Cholmley, Sir Hugh, p. 229; Hugh, 158, 161; Thomas, 158, 161.
 Cholmondeley, Alice, dau. John de, 54; John de, 54.
 Chorley, 54.
 Chorltan', James, chaplain, 95.
the Churcheselde (Knutsford), 134, 140.
the Church wood, *the Churchwood*, 133, 158, 161.
the Church woodland, 133.
the Church feild (Norbury Booths), 147.
the Church wood plain(e) (Norbury Booths), 182, 263.
 Church Yard (Norbury Booths), 240-241.
 Chylt', Robert le, 326 (v).
 Cissor, *see* Tailor.
 Claughton, Lancs., 359.
 Clayton, Ralph de, 6; Ranulph, 341; William de, sen., 282.

- Clerke, Alice, 235 ; Charles, 235 ; William le, 45.
le Cleyppittes (Knutsford), 63.
 Clifton, Clyfton', William de, chaplain, 36-37, 39-40.
 Clinton, Clymton', William de, Justice of Chester, 35, 200.
 Cloes, Henry de, 283.
 Clyfton', see Clifton'.
 Clymton', see Clinton.
the Coatfield, 317.
the Coat Meadow, 317.
 Cockar, Kockar, Hugh, 113 ; John, 113 ; Roger, 113.
 Cocker, Hugh le, 66 ; see also Cokker.
the Cockshuthay (Torkington), 316.
Cocus, see Cook.
 Codynton', John de, clerk, 35.
 Coke, Richard le, 283.
 Cokker, Hugh, 343 ; Hugh le, 58 ; see also Cocker.
 Collier, Henry, 314.
 Comberbach, William de, 254.
 Cook [*Cocus*], John, 28.
le Coppede Wiralehull' (Mobberley), 200.
 Coppock, John, 156.
 Cornell', Joan, w. Robert de, 50 ; John del, 76 ; Robert de, 50, 63.
 Coton', Richard de, 43.
the Cotter lains (Torkington), 316.
 Couper, Thomas, s. John le, 57. Cf. Cowper.
the Cowduck (Torkington), 316.
 Cowper Hugh, 117 ; John le, 50. Cf. Couper.
the Crabb Orchard, 317.
 Cranage, 15.
 Crewe, Thomas, s. William de, 54.
 Crimes, James, 120-121.
 Crior, Cryour, Roger le, 6, 24.
 Criur, Thomas le, 249.
the Croft att the Townes end (Nether Knutsford), 174.
 Crombewell', Cecilia (formerly w. John de Thelwall), w. Stephen de, 65 ; Stephen de, 65.
 Crookiley (Crookley), 308.
le Croppedholler (Bollington), 6.
Crosse feld, the Cross(e) feild, -field (Norbury Booths), 133, 161, 182, 263.
Crosse feld (in Knutsford lordship), 99.
 Cross Town, see under Nether Knutsford.
Crothers croft, the Crowthers croft, 133, 239.
the Crowbitch meadow (Torkington), 316.
 Croxton, Warin de, 325.
 Cryer, James, 119.
 Cryour, John, 320 ; Roger le, see Crior.
 Cundeclif, Robert de, 326 (viii).
- Darbeshire, Alice, 211 ; Thomas, of Mobberley, 211.
 Dauson', Katherine, dau. Walter, 45 ; Nycholaa, w. Walter, 45 ; Walter, 45.
 Davenport, Adam, 238 ; James, 238 ; Richard, 238.
 Davenham (Danam), Rector of, see Legh, Oliver de.
 Davenport, 255, 287, 354.
 Davenport, Davenepord, Hugh de, 254 ; Hugh, 255, 287 ; Joan, dau. Hugh de, see Legh ; John, 255, 287 ; Margaret, 254 ; Thomas, 285 ; Thomas, s. John de, 280 ; Roger de, 270 ; Vivian de, 270 ; William, 290.
 Davy, Geoffrey, rector of Swettenham, 84, 89.
 Dayners, Dayneers, William, 21, 326 (ii) (xiv).
 Deafcyll, Thomas, 233.
 Deerfould, see Dorfold.
 Delves, Thomas, kt., sheriff of Cheshire, 351 ; William, 175, 242.
 Dene, William de, chaplain, 27, 251 ; William del, 31.
 Dent, Thomas, 117.
 Denys, John, 320.
Deplitches House (Nether Knutsford), 167.
 Derbyshire, deed relating to, 3.
Derwallescagh, William de, 17.
 Deyners, Thomas, 322.
le Dichegreues (Mobberley), 199.
le Dichehallond (Mobberley), 200.
le Dichelondes, le Dychelond (Mobberley), 199-200.
 Dickenson, Thomas, 179, 181.
 Disley-Stanley (Disley Standley), 319.
 Dodefyn, Gilbert, 323.
 Dodge, Hannah, 317 ; James, 242 ; Robert, 242.
 Doge, Bartholomew, 288.
 Dokynteld, Robert de, 277.
le Domfyld (Knutsford), 66.
 Domvyle, Cecilia, w. John, 203 ; John, 203.
 Doone, John, s. Richard, 94 ; Richard, 94.
 Dorfold (Deerfould), 1, 239.
 Doumvyale, Downvile, Roger, rector of Lymm, 9, 68, 71, 81, 283.
 Doune, Richard, 327.
 Dounes, Robert de, 270.
 Downes, Francis, of Pytchley, Nthts., 299 ; Francis, s. Roger, 299 ; James, 238 ; Roger, of Wardley, Lancs., 299.
 Drake, Adam, 8.
 Drayton in Hales, Salop, 179.
 Duncalf, Thomas, 336.
 Dunham Massey (Dunham Massye), 10, 161, 350.
 Dunham Woodhouses (Dunham Wood-Houses), 175.
 Dunne, William le, 322.
Duns (Norbury Booths), 240-241.
 Dutton', Hugh de, 6, 24 ; John, 287 ; Peter de, kt., 6, 24 ; Richard (de), rector of Rostherne, 9, 71 ; Thomas, kt., 287 ; Yockyn de, 28.
le Dychelond, see Dichelondes.
 Dycon', Agnes, 283.
- Eaton (Yaiton), near Congleton, 334.
 Eaton, Ellen, 151 ; Thomas, 151-152.
 Eccles [Chapel in le Frith par.], Derbs., 318.

- Edge, William, 125-127.
Edricheford (Mobberley), 196.
 Edwards, Thomas, 188.
 Egerton, John, 181.
 Eggerton, Philip de, 21, 326 (xiv).
Ellotesmedu (Bollington), 6.
 Elota, see Hugh s.
 Estgrenewich, see Greenwich, East.
Ewode Medowe (Rostherne), 254.
 Ewode, William del, 8.
 Eyrdeley, Edward, 194.
- Faber*, see Smith.
 Fairfax, Anne [née Legh], 348-349; Thomas, 348-349.
 Fallows (Fallowes), in Nether Alderley, 182, 242.
 Faloo, Alexander of the, 337.
 Farneworth, Richard de, 67.
 Fawdon, Robert, 336.
 Ferrer, Thomas, Justice of Chester, 39.
 Feton, Thomas, 332.
the field att the doore, 314.
 Fiket, Fyket, Leticia, mother of Richard, 200; Richard, 36, 200, 328; Robert, 199; William, 200.
the Finch ley (Torkington), 302, 315. Cf. *Fyncheley*.
 Finney, S., 98.
 Fitton, Edward, s. John, 94; John, s. Edward, 94.
 Flecher, John le, chaplain, 57, 59.
 Fonte, Margery de, 326 (viii).
 Forester, George, 125-127.
Fornarius, see Baker.
 Foulshurst, Foulshurst, Richard de, sheriff of Cheshire, 6, 29, 250-251, 326 (iii) (xiv).
the four acres, 317.
 Fox, Foxe, Ellen (dau. Roger Worthington), 212-213, 216; John, of Knutsford, 58; John, of Radnor, 212-213, 215-216; John, s. John, 58; Richard, 58.
the Furlong, 315.
 Fyket, Richard, see Fiket.
Fyncheley (Torkington), 296. Cf. *Finch ley*.
 Fyshe, Robert le, 233.
 Fyton, Hugh, 66; John, clerk, 282; Laurence, kt., 336; Richard, 280; Richard, of Pownall, 282; Thomas, 203.
- Gammell, Edmund, Mayor of Chester, p. 229.
 Gandy, John, 165, 356.
Gangemonisacre (Mobberley), 200.
 3arewode, see Yarwood.
 Gascony, 42.
 Gaskell, Mary, 319; Richard, 319.
 Gaude, Ellen, 257.
 Gauseworth (Gouseworth), 203.
 Gerard, William, 326 (iii) (xix).
 Gilbert, Thomas s. William s., 200.
 Glasbroke, Thomas de, 246.
 Glasebroke, Agnes, dau. James, 93.
 Gleave, Roger, 219.
 Gleyue, John, 31; Thomas, 200.
 Glover, Margery, dau. Richard le, 41; Matilda, dau. Richard le, 41; Thomas, 320.
- Golborne David (Golburn' David), 82.
 Golburne, Thomas, 57.
 Goolden, John, 218; Margaret, 218.
 Goostrey (Gosetre), 13-15.
 Gorst, Thomas, 182, 221.
 Corsuch, Henry, chaplain, 320.
 Gosetre, see Goostrey.
 Gouseworth, see Gauseworth.
 Gram, Ralph, 13.
 Grantham, Roger, 156.
 Graunge, Geoffrey, 257, 345.
the Great Church wood (Norbury Booths), 182, 239.
the greate Olerton hey, 133.
the greate Ollerton, 133.
the greate Todhall, 133.
the Great Hay, 317.
the great meadowe, 158, 161.
the green field (Hale), 16.
 Greenwich, East (Estgrenewich), co. Kent, 125-127.
Grenlowmedewe (Torkington), 276.
 Gretolur, John de, 75.
 Grevenour, see Grosvenor.
 Grey, John de, s. Reginald de, 21-22; Reginald de, Just. of Chester, 231.
 Griffin, William, 238.
the Grindle Hill, 316.
 Grosvenor (Grevenour, Grosvenour, Grosvenur), Emma de, 73; Joan, wid. Robert, 339; Robert le, clerk, 249; Robert le, 72, 231; Robert le, of Rudheath, 203; Robert, 79, 255, 287.
 Cyglis, Paul, 256.
- Habels hous*, 283.
 Hale, 225; deed relating to, 16.
 Halfpenny Hill (*Halpeny Hyll'*), see Middlewich.
le Halheye (Ollerton), 283.
 Hall (Aula), John de, Mayor of Knutsford, 28, 30; Richard del, 283.
 Halle, John, 156.
Le Hallond (Hulse), 325.
Halpeny Hyll', see Halfpenny Hill.
 Halton, deed relating to, 17.
 — Fee of, High Steward of the Honor and, see Savage, Sir John; Knutsford Booths in the, see under Knutsford.
 Halton, John s. Richard s. Henry de, 252.
 Hamon, Richard s., 7; Matilda, w. Richard s., 7.
 Hanson, James, 144.
 Hardwicke, William, clerk, 113.
 Harper, John le, 6.
 Harpere, Hugh le, 326 (xi).
 Harrison, Benjamin, 242; Joseph, 174.
 Haselhurst, Nicholas de, 283. Cf. Hassulhurst.
Haselshawe (Mobberley), 196.
 Hassall, Elizabeth (Alexander), w. John, 110; John, 110.
 Hassulhurst, Alice, wid. Nicholas, 88. Cf. Haselhurst.
 Hastheleg, Hugh de, 325.
 Hatton, Gilbert de, 63; John, s. Simon, 91-92; Simon de, 283; Simon, 85-86, 90-92.
 Hawardyn, Benedict de, 13.

- Hayward, Stephen le, 30.
 Heald, Heild, George, 221, 223.
 Healde, William, 209. Cf. Heild.
 Heghefylde, Heghefelde, Highfeld, Ellen, 119, 205; Jane (dau. Philip Swanley), 119-122, 205, 258; Richard, 119-122, 205, 258. Cf. Hieghfeld.
 Hegynbothom, Nicholas, 294. Cf. Higgenbothom.
 Heild, William, 207. Cf. Healde.
 Helegh, *see under* Audley.
le Helerenlond (Mobberley), 200.
 Helsby, Randolph, p. 230; Thomas, pp. 230-31, 232; family, volume of Cheshire pedigrees owned by, pp. 230, 232 n. 2.
 Henbury (Hennebu(r)y), 255, 287.
 Henshagh, Roger, 125-127; Thomas de, 80.
 Henshall, William, 244.
 Henshaw, Henshawe, John, 145, 145a; Roger, 132.
 Henshe, John, 320.
 Heppals (Heppalls, Hephales, Heppal(e)s, Heppalis, Heppall(e)s), in Torkington, 94, 142-143, 165, 184, 270-271, 280-282, 284-285, 291, 293, 295, 298.
 Heske, Adam, 329; John, 329.
 Hesketh, Richard, 341.
 Heth, Hugh del. 44; Thomas, 88.
the hethe parke, 133.
 Hewitt, Philip, 152.
le Hewode (Bollington), 6.
the Hey (Torkington), 316.
 Heyes, John, 222.
 Heywood [Nether Alderley], 145.
 Hieghfeld, William, 115. Cf. Heghefylde.
 Higgenbothom, Nicholas, 296. Cf. Hegynbothom.
 Higginbothome, George, 305-306.
the Higher Juddole, 315.
 Highfeld, *see* Heghefylde.
 High Legh (High Leigh), 219, 258; Northwood (Northwode) in, 125.
 Hill, Edward, 264.
 Hillessone, Adam, chaplain, 44.
Hills Moss (Ollerton), 243.
the Hillylee, 315.
 Hobson, Anne, 220; George, s. John, 220; John, 220; John, s. John, 220.
 Hodnet, Ellen, 283.
le Hogh, 253.
 Hogh, Thomas, 257.
 Hoghe, Henry, 123.
Hogh' heth (Millington), 253.
 Hoknell, Ralph, s. David de, 58.
 Holand, Henry, 70; Robert de, Justice of Chester, 250.
 Holcroft, Lancs., 128.
 Holcroft, John, sen., kt., 128.
le Holdefeld (Mobberley), 200.
 Holden, John, 84.
Holdenclif, Holdencliff (Mobberley), 196, 200.
 Holes, Hugh de, 330.
 Holford, George, 112; Thomas, 88.
 Holforde, George, kt., 102.
 le Holis, *see* Hulse.
 Holis, Herbert del, 325.
 Holleford, Margery, w. Roger de, 34; Roger de, 34, 322.
 Hollingworth (Hollinworth), 301.
the Hollins Croft (Torkington), 316.
 Hollinshead, Ralph, 145.
 Hollinworth, Alexander, 301.
 Hollinworth, *see* Hollingworth.
 Holreton, *see* Ollerton.
 Holt, Holte, Joan, wid. Thomas del, 331; John, 116, 119-121; Richard, 257.
 Holys, Ralph del, 200.
 Homfrey, Nicholas, 152.
 Honde, William s., 30.
 Hondford, John de, 61.
 Honford, John de, 272; John, s. Henry de, 280; William de, 334.
 Honkynson, Ralph, 257.
the horse croft, 314.
 Hough (Houghe), in Wilmslow (Wilmslowe) par., 210.
 Hough, Godfrey, 125-127; Robert, 125-127.
 Houghe, Edmund, 218; Elizabeth, 218.
the Houghs Milnefeld, 239.
the House Croft, 317.
the House Meadow, 317.
 Huet, Huett, Edmund, 237; Joan, 237; Margery, 219; Roger, s. William, 219; William, 218-219.
 Hugh s. Elota, 326 (vi).
 Hugh, James, 96.
 Hughett, Edward, 156.
Huglond (Mobberley), 200.
 Huitt, William, 324.
 Hulfeld, Ranulf de, 21.
 Hulme, Roger de, 57.
 Huls, Philip, s. Thomas, 94; Richard, 320; Thomas, 94, 256-257, 267, 320; William, 320.
 Hulse (le Holis), 325.
 Humfrey, Nicholas, 257; Richard, 254; Thomas, 257.
 Humphrey, Anne, 12.
 Hunt, John, 219; Thomas, 175; William, 261.
 Hunter [Venator], Stephen, 325.
 Hurne, Huyrne, Adam, 32, 326 (iii) (vi) (viii) (xi); Adam, s. John, 326 (vii); John, 28; Robert, s. John, 28, 33.
le Hurstes (Torkington), 283.
 Huxle, Robert de, 326 (iii).
 Huyrne, *see* Hurne.
 Hyde, John de, 272; John de, kt., 277; John, 209; William, s. John de, kt., 2.
Hynderlegheclough (Torkington), 277.
 Ightenhill, Lancs., 18.
 Ightfield (Ightfeld), Salop, 14.
 Ingham, Richard, 287.
the Jack Croft (Torkington), 316.
 Jakson, Thomas, 285, 287.
 Jankynson, Richard, 233.
 Jepson, George, 225; Mary, 225; Thomas, 320.
 Cf. Jephthson.
 Jephthson, Mary, 183. Cf. Jepson.

John, clerk, 4, 25, 323.

Johnson, Anne, 3; John, 3; Samuel, 242.

Jordan, Roger s. 28.

Kelsall, 2.

Kene, Alice, 47; John, 47.

Kenenton, Adam de, clerk, 197.

Kenman, Cecilia de, 246.

Kenorthey, Robert, de, 24.

Kermincham (Caryngeham, Keryncham), 14, 320.
the Kerre Medowe (Torkington), 287-288.

Keryncham, *see* Kermincham.

the killns croft, 314.

Kiltyng, Richard, 31.

Kinderton (Kynderton'), 91, 161; Baron of, 194,
see also Venables, Peter.

Kinsey, Thomas, 240-241.

the Kittling fields (Sudlow), 176.

Knights Grange (Knights Graunge), 161.

Knutsford (Knot(t)es-, Knot(t)is-, Knotts-, Knotus-, Knut(t)es-ford(e)), 44, 58, 75, 97, 162, 234, 256, 267-268, 337-338; deeds relating to, 19-189, 256, 267, 283, 295, 320, 326; bakehouse, 76, 95; charter to burgesses of, 19; church, 147, 256; glebe, 134, 140, 147; Higher Town of, *see* Knutsford, Over; mayor of, *see* Aula, John de; mill, *see below* water-mills; *le Oldton* of (*Olde-knotesford*), 36-37, 39-40; oven, 63, 76, 83; the *Overtoun* of, *see* Knutsford, Over; parish priest of, *see* Brone, Thomas; the upper town of, *see* Knutsford, Over.

—, (the) Booths ((le, the) Boithes, Booth(es), Both-es, -ez, -is, -us, -ys, Bowthes, Bowthes, Butthes), in Over, 2, 3, 9-10, 14, 29, 46, 54, 57, 59-64, 66, 68-69, 72, 76, 79, 81-82, 90, 94, 98, 101, 114-123, 137-139, 141, 145, 145a, 203a, 204-206, 215, 231, 235, 240, 245-246, 253-259, 265, 281-284, 286-287, 289-290, 292, 297, 300, 303, 330, 332-333, 335-339, 346-347, 355, 359; deeds relating to, 25, 48, 68, 115, 133, 182, 326; hall and manor of, 48, 63, 68, 115, 133, 153; mill (*le Bothe Milne*, — *Mylne*), *see below* water-mills; wood of, 30. *See also* Norbury Booths.

—, Nether (Lower Knottesford, Neather Knottesford, Neither Knotsford, — Knutsford, Nether Knotsford, — Knottesford(e) — Knottisford(e), — Knottsford, Knot(t)ysford(e), — Knutesford(e)), 84, 111, 114, 120, 123, 132, 139, 147, 156, 166-167, 172, 174, 176-178, 180-181, 187-188, 205, 223; deeds relating to, 57, 59, 63, 75, 78, 84, 89, 96-97, 102, 108, 110-112, 114-115, 119-128, 132, 134, 137, 139-140, 142-143, 145, 145a, 150, 154, 165, 167, 172-178, 181, 184-185, 205, 242, 258, 268, 320; chapel of the Blessed Mary, 125-127; chapel wardens, *see* Chedwycke, Ralph, and Swynton', Thomas; Cross Town (the Cross(e) Towne, Crostowne) in, 132, 169, 179, 185; Minshull Lane ((le) Minchill' Lawne, Minshall lane, Mynscul lane, Mynshullawne) in, 66, 84, 96, 176; rental, 150; school, 188; tithes, 134, 140.

Knutsford, Over (the Higher Towne, Knottisford Superior, Over Knotsford, — Knot(t)esford(e), — Knottisford(e), — Knot(t)isford, — Knot(t)ysford, — Knutsford, — Knutesford(e), the Overtoun, the upper town), 93, 103, 148, 151, 155, 159, 164, 168, 170-171, 185, 235, 239, 263, 300, 320, 344, 346, 350; deeds relating to, 45, 67, 72, 79, 87, 90-91, 100, 103-108, 115-116, 122, 125-127, 129, 134, 140, 142-143, 145, 148, 150-151, 154-156, 159-160, 163-166, 168, 170-171, 179-180, 183-184, 186-187, 239, 242, 257-258, 320; court records, 186-187; courts and leets in, 129; fish-pond, 72; Overseers of the Poor of, 269; rental, 150; tithes, 134, 140; tradesmen of, 163. *See also* Knutsford Booths.

— Booths (Knottesford(e) Bothes, — Boths, — Bothus, — Bothys, Knotsford Bothes, Knottesford Booth(e)s, — Bothes, — Bothez, — Bouthes, — Bowth(e)s, Knottisford Bothes, Knotusfordebothus, Knutesford(e)bothes), 71, 83; deeds relating to, 20-23, 27, 30, 35-37, 39-40, 48-53, 55, 59, 65, 71, 77, 81-83, 85-86, 88, 92, 94-95, 115, 117-118, 129, 131, 137, 142-143, 152, 154, 156, 165, 184, 283, 326; market and fair at, 35; rental, 55. *See also* Knutsford, Over.

—, Norbury Booths (Norbery(e) Bothes, — Bowthes, Norburie Booth(e)s, Norbury(e) Bothes, — Both(e)s, — Bothus, — Bouthes, Northuribothus, Northurie Bothes, Northbury Bothes, Northeburi—, Northebury Bothes, Northburi Bothes), in Over, 1, 11-12, 109, 125, 128, 135, 142, 149-154, 157-159, 161, 163, 166, 182, 184, 189, 195, 211, 217, 220, 230, 236-237, 244, 260-262, 268, 298-299, 305, 307, 310, 324, 348, 350, 358, 360-361; deeds relating to, 20-23, 27, 36-37, 39-40, 94, 109, 131, 137, 142-144, 147, 153, 157-158, 161, 165, 182, 184, 239-241, 263, 326; manor house of, 153; tithes, 109. *See also* Booths.

—, water-mills, mills, 20, 25-27, 29, 36-37, 39-40, 57, 63, 76, 83, 94, 133, 137, 203a, 326 (v) (xiii) (xviii).

Knutsford (Knot(t)esford, Knottisford, Knuttisford), Ellen, 320; Hugh de, 56, 66; John, 78, 79; John de, 72, 75, 283; Margaret, 320; Mary, *see* Bothe; Roger, 96, 98, 100-101, 320; Thomas, 82, 87.

Kockar, *see* Cockar.

Koppok, John, 257; Thomas, 257.

Kyncy, Matilda, 13; William, 13.

Kynderton', *see* Kinderton.

Kyrfote, Agnes de, 95; Charles, s. Agnes de, 95; Oliver de, 95.

le Kyrkefeld, 283.

the Lagher Grene, *see under* Torkington.

Lambe, Ellen, 259; John, 259; John, of Ashley, 259.

Lancashire, deeds relating to, 18, 329.

Lancaster, Duchy of, 129, 146.

- Lancaster, Lancast', John, Prior of Launde, Leics., 109, 267.
- Langley (close), in Bollington, 10.
- Latham, Thomas, 256.
- Latham, Nicholas, 338, Petronilla, 97, 320; Robert, 89-90, 338; Thomas de, 75; Thomas, 97, 338.
- Launde (Laund), Leics., Prior and Convent of, 109; Prior of, see Lancaster, John.
- Laurence, Honkyn, 336; John, s. Thomas, 336.
- Laycestr(e), see Leicester.
- Leche, Anne, 3; James, 116; Sir Philip, 3; Sir Roger, 3.
- Lee, see Legh.
- Lees (Lyes), 15.
- Legh, Agnes, w. Robert de, 51-52.
- Anne [Leche], w. John de, 282.
- (Leghe), Anne [dau. Sir Wm. Bothe, w. John Legh (d. 23 Edw. IV)], 94, 287.
- (Leighe), Anne [dau. John Legh (d. 1619)], see Fairfax.
- (Lee), Charles de, 74.
- (Leighe), Dorothy [née Shakerley; w. Wm. Legh, (d. 1641)], 297.
- Dorothy [(w. John Legh (d. 1660)], see Ashton.
- Edward de, 51-52.
- Edward, of Baguley, 292.
- Elena (Helena) de [w. John de Legh], 6-7, 20-21, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32-37, 39-40, 200-201, 232, 247, 250-252, 326, 328.
- (Lee), Elizabeth [dau. Andrew Brereton, kt.; w. Philip Legh (d. 1526)], 342; see also Brereton.
- Elizabeth [dau. John Legh (d. 23 Edw. IV)], see Shakerley.
- (Leighe), Elizabeth, dau. William Legh [d. 1641], see Whichcote.
- (Leigh), Elizabeth [w. John Legh (d. 1660)], 355; see also Venables.
- (Leigh), Francis, 154.
- (Leghe), Geoffrey [s. John de Legh, kt., and his w. Isabel], 2.
- Geoffrey de [brother of James de Legh and John de Legh (d. 6 Hen. VI)], 51-52.
- Geoffrey de [s. John de Legh (1440)], 69-70.
- Gilbert de, chaplain, 34.
- Gilbert de [s. John de Legh and his w. Elena], 199, 201.
- Helena de, see above Elena.
- Henry de, 51-52.
- Isabel [dau. John de Legh (d. 6 Hen. VI)], see Bedulf.
- Isabel [sister of John Baguley; w. John de Legh, kt.], 8, 39-40, 253, 279-280.
- James de [brother of Robert de Legh and John de Legh (d. 6 Hen. VI)], 51-52.
- James [s. John de Legh, kt., and his w. Isabel], 39-40, 42, 253, 279.
- (Leighe), Dame Jane [w. John Legh, kt. (d. 1558)], 130-131, 133.
- (Leigh(e)), Jane [Brereton; w. John Legh (d. 1619)], 139, 142, 144, 152-154, 206, 237, 259-260, 347.
- Joan [(dau. Hugh de Davenport; w. John de Legh, kt. (d. 1459)], 81-82, 254, 283.
- Legh, John, brother of Thomas de [temp. Edw. I], 321.
- (Legg'), John de [occurs as a witness late 13th/early 14th cent.], 4, 26, 28, 31.
- (Leigh), John de [s. Wm. de Venables, kt.], 6-7, 20-25, 27, 29-30, 32, 34-36, 200, 231-232, 247, 250-251, 322, 326-327.
- John de (kt.) [s. John de Legh and his w. Elena], 8, 33, 37, 39-40, 199-201, 253, 273-277, 279-280, 326 (xiv) (xvii), 328.
- (Leghe), John de [s. John de Legh, kt., and his w. Matilda (Arden)], 2, 39-40, 201, 253, 279.
- (Leghe), John, s. Robert de [1355], 2.
- (Leighe), John de [s. James de Legh], 46, 48-49, 51-52, 54-55, 57, 59-63, 68, 245-246, 253, 254, 265-266, 281, 330.
- John de [s. John de Legh (d. 6 Hen. VI)], 63-64, 66, 68, 254, 282.
- John (kt.) [s. John de Legh (d. 1438)], 68-72, 76, 79 (?), 81-82, 254-255, 283, 285, 289, 332-338.
- John de [s. Robert de, 1451], 77.
- (Lye), John de [s. John de Legh, kt. (d. 1459)], 71, 73, 81-83, 203a, 204, 255, 284-287, 289.
- John [s. John Legh (d. 1470)], 287, 291, 295, 339.
- (Leghe, Leigh(e), Lyegh), John (kt.) [s. Philip Legh (d. 1526)], 14-15, 109, 111-112, 114-130, 133, 135, 205, 235-236, 258, 292-293, 346.
- (Leigh(e)), John [s. John Legh, kt. (d. 1558)], 10-11, 130-131, 133, 135-139, 142-147, 149-155, 195, 206, 211, 236-237, 259-260, 297, 347-349.
- John [bas. s. John Legh, kt. (d. 1558)], 122, 236.
- (Leigh(e)), John [s. William Legh (d. 1641)], 157, 159-160, 162, 216-217, 220, 239, 261, 268, 298-300, 303-306, 350, 354 (sheriff of co. Chester).
- John [d. 1826], p. 230, n. 2.
- Sir John, of Baguley, 2.
- Margery, bas. dau. Sir John [d. 1558], 258.
- Mary, dau. Peter, clerk, 177.
- (Leighe), Mary, dau. William [d. 1641], 161.
- Matilda [dau. John de Arden, kt.; w. John de Legh, kt.], 200, 326 (xiv) (xvii).
- Matilda de [w. John de Legh (d. 6 Hen. VI)], 68, 253.
- Oliver de, Rector of Davenham, 9, 68, 71, 81, 283.
- Peter de [s. John de Legh and his w. Elena], 39-40, 201, 253.
- (Lee, Leigh), Peter [s. John Legh (d. 1660)], 12, 18, 165-178, 182, 220, 239-242, 262-264, 307, 310-315, 357 (sheriff of co. Chester), 358-360.
- Peter, of Nether Knutsford, clerk, 177.
- (Leigh), Peter [s. Thomas Pennington Legh], 184-186, 188-189, 230, 317-319, 362 (Deputy Lieutenant).
- (Lee, Leghe), Philip [s. John Legh, kt. (d. 1459)], 82, 94, 95, 98-99, 101, 141, 256-257, 290, 341-343.

- Legh, Reginald, 90.
 — (Leigh) Richard [s. John Legh (d. 1619)], 153.
 — Richard [s. John Legh (d. 1660)], 310-311.
 — Richard, esq., 361.
 — Robert de [s. John de Legh and his w. Elena], 39-40, 201, 253, 277.
 — (Leghe), Robert de [s. Robert de Legh, 1355], 2.
 — Robert de [brother of James de Legh and John de Legh (d. 6 Hen. VI)], 51-52.
 — Robert de (1451), 77.
 — Robert, of High Legh, 113 (?), 122, 258.
 — Roger, brother of John of Legh [s. John de Legh (d. 1438)], 332.
 — (Lee), Ruth [w. Peter Legh, s. John Legh [d. 1660]], 18, 165, 182, 359.
 — (Leg(g)), Thomas de [occurs as a witness late 13th/early 14th cent.], 4, 6, 21, 24, 26, 30, 32, 232, 321, 326 (ii) (iii) (v) (vii)-(xi) (xiv) (xx) (xxii).
 — (Leigh), Thomas, s. Thomas de [c. 1319/20], 322.
 — Thomas [s. Robert Legh, 1548], 122, 258.
 — Thomas, of Tabley, [1548], 122, 258.
 — Thomas, of Northwood in High Legh [1549], 125.
 — (Leigh(e)), Thomas [s. John Legh (d. 1619)], 11, 152, 211.
 — Thomas, 163.
 — Walter, 320.
 — William de (kt.) [s. John de Legh and his w. Elena], 39-40, 201, 253, 326 (xiv) (xvii).
 — (Leghe), William de (kt.) [s. John de Legh, kt., and his w. Isabell], 2, 39-40, 253, 279.
 — (Leghe), William, s. Peter de [1355], 2.
 — William of, of Timperley [1445], 335.
 — (Leigh(e)), William [s. John Legh (d. 1619)], 10-11, 149-150, 154, 157-161, 195, 215, 260, 297-300, 303, 324, 350, 351-352 (sheriff of co. Chester).
 — Willoughby [s. Peter Legh (d. 1804)], 244.
 — family, pedigree of, pp. 230 notes, 232 and n.
 — See also Leigh, Leighe.
 Legh, High, Northwood (Northwode) in, 125.
 Leghes, John, 287.
 le Legh hous (Torkington), 277.
 le legmos (Bollington), 6.
 le Lehe (Torkington), 271.
 Leicester, Anne, 258; Elizabeth, 258; Sir Francis, 228; Joan, 258; (Leycestr'), John of, the elder, 337; (Leycester), John, 181; Katherine, 258; (Leycester), Mary, w. Nicholas de, 202; (Laycestr', Leycester), Nicholas de, 200, 202; Sir Peter, 230; (Leycester), Sir Ralph, 122, 258; (Leycestr'), Ralph, 115, 183, 224; (Laycestre), Robert de, 330; (Leycestr'), Robert, 82, 84, 89; (Laycestr(e), Leycestr'), Roger de, 32, 322, 326 (ii) (iii) (v) (vii) (ix) (xiv) (xx); (Leycester), William, 137. See also Leycester.
 Leigh, Lancs., 244.
 Leigh, Thomas, of Nether Knutsford, 172; William, of Mobberley, 225. Cf. also Legh, Leighe.
 Leighe, Edward, of Ashley, 16; Thomas, of Over Knutsford, 300. Cf. also Legh, Leigh, le leperousouerfeld, 50.
 (le) leporosfyld, lepros(s)efeld, 63, 88, 90, 95.
 Levenshulme (Lewennes-, Leyuenshulme), Lancs., 2.
 Lewis, Thomas, 188.
 Leycester, Sir Peter, p. 230 and n.; see also Leicester.
 Leycestr', see Leicester.
 Leyuenshulme, see Levenshulme.
 Lichfield (Lychfeld), Staffs., 110.
 Lilicok', Thomas, 30-31, 34.
 the lilly cock hey, lilycock hey, 239, 283. Cf. Lyllicote hey.
 the Little Church Wood (Norbury Booths), 182, 239.
 the little croft, 314.
 the little Hay, 317.
 the little meadow (Torkington), 316.
 the little Woodfeild (Torkington), 316.
 the little yard (Mobberley), 220.
 Liverpool, Lancs., 348.
 Lockwood, Staffs., 145.
 Londener, Thomas, 256.
 London, 217, 308-309; Clifford's Inn, 360.
 Longay (Bollington), 254.
 the longe field (Torkington), 304.
 Longhey (meadow), near Bollington, 7.
 the Long Lee (Torkington), 287-288.
 the long shoote, 314.
 Longton', Ralph, chaplain, 320.
 Lostock', Lostok', John de, 20, 326 (xi); Richard de, 325.
 Lostock Gralam (Lostok'), rental of, 190.
 Lostok', see Lostock'.
 Lovatt, Thomas, 242.
 Lovet, —, 179.
 Lowe, Anna, w. John, 80; John, 80; John, jun., 165.
 the Lower Juddole, 315.
 the Lower Mosse (Mobberley), 207, 210.
 Lowndes, Hester, 310-311; Joseph, 310; Ralph, 358.
 Lychfeld, see Lichfield.
 Lye(gh), see Legh.
 Lyes, see Lees.
 the Lyllicote hey, 133. Cf. lilly cock hey.
 Lymm (Lymme), 191-192; parson of a moiety of the church of, see Robert; rector of, see Doumvyne, Roger.
 — Booths (Lymmebothes), 191.
 Lynney, Isota, 114.
 Lynneys tenement, see Rylandes.
 Lytelouer, John de, chaplain, 13.
 Macclesfield (Macclesfeild, Macklesfield), 221, 223; Forest of, 265.
 Macy, see Massey.
 Madacke, Henry, 123.
 the Maddock Wood, 239.
 Madoc(k), Madok, Robert, 96-97, 100, 267.
 Mainwaring, Mayn -waryn, -waryng(e), Mayneway', Meynwaring, Arthur, 14; Hugh le, 78; John, parson of Warmingham, 256; John þe [sic], kt., 332; Ralph, kt., 117; Randle þe [sic], 332; Randolph, 14-15; Ranulph le, 283; Ranulph, 320; Thomas, 116; William de, 19, 25, 196, 231, 326 (ii).

- Mallory, Thomas, Dean of Chester, 158.
Mara, William de, see Mer(e).
Mara and Mondrem, 327.
the marl(e)d earth meadow, 239-241.
the Marlet Erthe (Torkington), 287-288. Cf.
Merlet earth.
the Marfield, 317.
Marple (Merple, Merpull'), 286, 294, 297, 307,
309; deed relating to, 299.
Marsh (Marshes, le Mersch, le Mershe), deeds
relating to, 36-37, 39-40, 68, 131, 137, 142-
143, 165.
Marthall (Merthall), 144, 222; deeds relating to,
134, 140, 142-143; tithes, 134, 140, 231.
Marthall', John de, chaplain, 60, 253.
Massey, Ma(s)cyc, Massy(e), Edward the [sic],
336; Geoffrey, kt., 87, 90, 255, 287;
Geoffrey, 85-87, 90-93, 256; Geoffrey, silk
weaver, 156; Geoffrey, of Worsley, Lancs.,
58; Hamo de, kt., 20-21, 326 (ii) (xix) (xx);
Hugh, 99, 257; Isabella, w. Sir Richard de,
231-232; John de, rector of Sefton, Lancs.,
36-37, 39-40; John, s. Sir Geoffrey, 255,
287; John, chalonier, 203a; Richard de,
(kt.), 19-21, 196 (?), 231-232, 326 (ii) (v)
(ix) (xi) (xiv) (xix) (xx); Richard de, 326
(v); Richard de, s. Sir William de, 249;
Robert de, 4, 26, 322; Robert de, of Ros-
therne, 24; Robert de, of Sale, 24; Robert,
s. Richard de, of Sale, 326 (xxiii); Robert,
s. Robert de, of Kelsall, 2; Robert, 102,
320; Thomas de, 51; Thomas, s. Richard
de, 2; William de, kt., 35; William, 257.
Maykyn, William, 86, 287.
Maynarde, Maynerde, John, 125-127.
Maynwaryn, Maynwarng(e), Maynewayg', see
Mainwaring.
the meadow, the meadow(e), 314-315.
the meadow and Copy's (Torkington), 316.
Meane Heyes (Torkington), 292.
Meare, see Mere.
Meare, Meyre, John, 134, 140, 147.
the mease place (Over Knutsford), 107.
Meer, John, 343.
Meir(e), see Mere.
Meire, Meyre, Hugh, 122, 125, 258.
Melyngton', Thomas, 320.
Mer, William de, see Mer(e).
Mercere, John le, 283.
Mere (Meare, Meir(e), le Mere, Meyre), 113,
134, 147, 193, 219; deeds relating to, 68,
71, 131, 137, 142-143, 255.
Mer(e)', Mara, William de (del, de le), 4, 6, 20,
231-232, 326 (v) (viii) (xiv) (xx) (xxii).
the Merlet earth meadowe, 133. Cf. *Marlet Erthe*.
Merple, Merpull', see Marple.
the Merry Hill(s) (Torkington), 302, 315.
le Mersch, see Marsh.
Mersedene, Thomas, 203a.
Mersey, R., 17.
le Mershe, see Marsh.
the mershe feld, 133.
Mershelond, Joan, 289; Richard, 289; William,
289.
Merslond, Richard, 285, 287.
le Mersshey (Rostherne), 254.
Merthall, see Marthall.
Messor, see Reaper.
Meynwarng, see Mainwaring.
Meyr, William, 113.
Meyre, see Mere.
Meyre, Hugh, see Meire; John, see Meare.
the Middlefield, 317.
Middlewich (Midlewich), 226; deed relating to,
194; Halfpenny Hill (*Halpeny Hyll'*) in,
194; rector of, see Tochet, John.
the millcroft, 133.
Miller, [Molendinarius], William, 321-322.
Millington (Mill-, Mulynton', Myllyn(g)ton),
71, 94, 131, 137, 142-143, 195, 253.
Millington, John, 125-127; William, 195.
Millingtons Acre (Mobberley), 214.
Milnefeilds, 239.
the milne yordes, 161.
Mobberley (Mobburlegh', Moberley, Mobur-
le(i)gh, -ley, Modbur -leg, -ley), 183, 227,
238, 243; deeds relating to, 36-37, 39-40,
71, 81-82, 94, 119, 131, 137, 142-143, 150-
152, 165, 184, 187, 196-225, 283, 326, 330;
mill (*Mobberley Milne*), 220; parson of the
church of, see Brunstath, John de; rental,
150; the Wood Lane in, 222.
Mobberley (Mobburlegh', Modbirleg', Modbur-
leg(h), -ley), Emma, w. Roger de, 200;
Henry de, 26, 198; John, 185; Laurence, s.
Thomas de, 36, 199; Thomas, 185; William
de, 19-20, 25-26, 196-197, 200, 203, 231, 249,
321, 322 (sheriff of Cheshire), 326 (ii) (vii)
(xiv) (xviii) (xx); William, s. Roger de, 196.
Molendinarius, see Miller.
Mondrem, see Mara.
Moors Head House (Over Knutsford), 166.
Moreton, William, 122, 258.
Morres, Peter, 345.
Moscrop(e), Moscropp(e), Elizabeth, w. Robert,
107; Hugh, 106-107, 344-345; John, 152;
Margaret, 346; Robert, 100, 107, 256, 344.
Cf. Mossecroppe.
Mosse, Margaret, 257.
Mossecroppe, Robert, 257; William, 65. Cf.
Moscrop(e).
Mothersehed, William, 320.
Motlawe, John de, 270.
Motterom, Edmund de, 280.
Mottersheds tenement (Mobberley), 223.
le Mulnerudyng, le Mulne Rudyngk (Mobberley),
200.
Mulynton, see Millington.
Mulynton', Eydrop de, 4.
Munchull', John de, 67.
Munschull', William de, 34.
Murcroft', Thomas, 123.
the Myll Feild (Mobberley), 215.
Myllyn(g)ton, see Millington.
Myllyngton, William, 257.
Mylner, Thomas, 117.
Mytley, 108.
Nantwich (Namptonwich, Wiche Malbanke), 163,
179-180, 296.
Neather Knottesford, see Knutsford, Nether.

- Nedam, Robert, 89.
 Neither Knutsford, — Knutsford, *see* Knutsford, Nether.
Nelhaus (Torkington), 277.
the Nether Common, *see under* Torkington.
le Nethercroftlondes (Mobberley), 200.
 Nether Knutsford, *see* Knutsford, Nether.
the Nether Rydynges (Torkington), 287-288.
 Nether Tabley, *see* Tabley, Nether.
 Newall, *see* Newhall.
 New Bridge, 10.
 Newcastle under Lyme, Staffs., 47.
 Newhall (Newall), 132, 148, 164; deed relating to, 320.
 Newhall (Nova Aula), John de, 325.
 Newham, Thurstan de, 334.
 Newport, Salop, 94.
 Newton, nr. Middlewich, 182.
 Norbury, 314; deed relating to, 301.
 Norbury, John, 183; Robert, 155, 166.
 Norbury Booths, Norbery(e) Bothes, etc., *see under* Knutsford.
Nordschawe (Rostherne), 249.
 Norres, John, sen., of Worsley, Lancs, 234.
 Norreys, John, 228; Thomas, 233.
 Northburibothus, Northburie Boothes, Northbury Boothes, Northebury Bothes, *see* Norbury Booths.
 Northenden (Northen, Northerden), the Lane End in, 225.
 Northburi Bothes, *see* Norbury Booths.
 Northwich (Northwiche) deeds relating to, 226-230; *the Red Lyon Stable*, 230; Swine Market, 228, 230; wich house in, 228, 230; Wich House Street, 228.
 Northwood (Northwode), *see under* High Legh.
 Nova Aula, John de, *see* Newhall.
 Nyldre, Richard, 125-127.
- Offerton, 299, 302, 304.
 Oghtrynton', *see* Oughtrington.
 Okell, George, 240-241.
 Okes, John, 9; John del, 254.
le Oldefeld (Knutsford), 31, 45.
 Oldfeld, Richard, jun., 123.
the Oldfild (Torkington), 292.
 Oldham, Ralph, 318.
the old parke, 133.
the old Wood, 317.
the Old Wood Rough, 317.
 Ollerton (Holre-, Oler-, Ollur-, Olre-, Ouler-, Owlre -ton'), 63; deeds relating to, 9, 36-37, 39-40, 71, 81-82, 94, 115, 122, 131, 137, 142-143, 150, 152, 165, 184, 187, 231-244, 254, 283, 287, 295, 321-322, 326; rental, 150; water-mill, 36-37, 39-40, 231; wood, 231.
the Ollerton Heyes, 239.
 Ollurton, Olreton, *see* Ollerton.
 Onslowe, Richard, 133.
the Orchard Flate, 133.
le Orchard Flatte (Torkington), 287-288.
 Ordsall, Lancs., 207.
 Ormerod, George, pp. 230, 232.
 Ormeston, John, 257.
- Orreby, John de, kt., 326 (ii) (xiv) (xix).
 Oughtrington (Oghtrynton', Ughtrynton'), 191-192.
 Oulegreve, John de, 63; John, s. Roger de, 56; John, s. William de, 56; Katherine de, 63; William, s. Roger de, 45.
 Oulerton, *see* Ollerton.
 Oulton, 158.
 Oumfray, Richard, 283.
 Oundeclue, Robert de, 34.
the Outlet (Torkington), 316-317.
Overbrandyorth', Overbrendyearthes (Knutsford), 98.
 Over Knutsford, *see* Knutsford, Over.
le Overmast Damfeld (Nether Knutsford), 84.
 Overton, 245-246.
 Overton, Geoffrey de, 246.
Overtounfeld, le Overtownefyld, 95, 320.
Owens Howse (Mobberley), 221.
 Owlerton, *see* Ollerton.
- Page, Elena de, 50; Ralph, 343.
le Pament (Torkington), 287-288.
the Parke feld, 133.
 Parker, John, 182, 221; John, of Fallows, 182, 242.
Parkwood (Norbury Booths), 240-241.
 Partington, Nicholas, 156.
 Patrick, Richard, 156.
 Patryk, John, 83.
 Pearson, Thomas, 179.
the Pearson croft (Torkington), 316.
the Pease feild (Norbury Booths), 182.
 Pecok', William, chaplain, 38.
le Pekesmedusyde (Bollington), 6.
 Pemberton, Mark, 243.
 Pennington, Allan, doctor of physic, 353.
 Peover (Pevur), 45, 320.
 Percivall, William, 156.
 Pevur, *see* Peover.
 Peycock, Ralph, 97.
the Pickford Crofts (Torkington), 316.
 Pickmere (Pyckmeyre), 156.
the Picksteale, Pyksteale (Over Knutsford), 83, 90, 159-160.
the Pingot, 317.
 Pirton, William, 3.
 Plumton', Richard de, escheator of Cheshire, 327.
the Pole Flate, 133.
 Pollard, Robert, 167.
Ponstonesmere, 63.
the poole flatt meadow, 158, 161.
 Pope, William le, 44.
 Potts, John, 185.
 Pownall, 282.
 — Fee, 301.
 Pownall', Thomas de, 61.
the poyce and Edmond Knoll (Torkington), 296.
 Praers, Robert de, sheriff of Cheshire, 200.
 Preistnor, Richard, 308.
 Prest, Richard, 336.
 Pulford', Robert de, 326 (xiv).
 Pull', James de, 21.
 Pulton, John de, 233.
le Puysslogh (Torkington), 277.

- Pycard, Hugh, 336.
 Pychley, *see* Pytchley.
 Pyckmeyre, *see* Pickmere.
le Pyelond (Mobberley), 200.
the Pye wood (Torkington), 316.
Pykstele, *see* Pickstele.
 Pynk, David, 43.
 Pypot, Richard, 248.
 Pytchley (Pychley), Nhts., 299.

le Quitebruche (Knutsford), 44. Cf. *le Whitebruch*.
quythul (Rostherne), 249.
 Qwytel, William de, 17.

 Rabi, Raby, Robert, 200.
 Radcliffe, John, kt., 207-208.
 Radford, James, 169.
Radfords tenement (Mobberley), 222.
the Radich Croft, Reddiche Crofte (Torkington), 303-304.
 Radnor [nr. Congleton], 212, 215.
 Raer, Hugh, 323.
Raneleghruydynges (Torkington), 276.
 Raustorne, Rauthestorne, *see* Rostherne.
 Reaper [Messor], Stephen, 31.
Reddiche Crofte, *see* *Radich Croft*.
 Reneyd [?], John, s. William le, 326 (xiii).
 Renshawe, Ralph, 227.
 Reve, Thomas, s. William le, 31.
 Richard, chaplain, 196, 321.
 — s. Hamon, *see* Hamon.
 Ridgewaie, Robert, 304.
 Ridgwaie, John, the elder, 238.
 Ridgway, Alice, 152; Joan, 226; John, 152, 242.
 Rigewey, Elizabeth, 125-127.
Rigwey crosse, 119.
 Rixton, Lancs., 316.
 Robert, clerk, 6, 28, 30-32, 272, 326 (vii) (viii) (ix) (xi) (xx); parson of a moiety of Lymm church, 20.
 Robinson, Nathaniel, 218.
 Rode, John de, 34; Margery, w. John de, 34.
 Roger, clerk, 325.
 — s. Jordan, *see* Jordan.
 — Stephen s., 41, 45.
 Roo, Thomas, 257.
 Rostherne (Raus-, Rauthes -torne, Ros -tarne, -terne, -thern, -thorne, Roth(e)s-terne, -torne, Roues-, Rous-, Routhes-, thorn(e), Rous-, Routhes- torn, Routh(e)s-, Routhis-thorn(e), Routhethorn', Rouyestorne, Rowthorn'), 24, 122, 147, 149, 258; deeds relating to, 9, 27, 36-37, 39-40, 68, 94, 115, 137, 142-143, 165, 187, 247-264, 283; church, 256; Mere, 9, 253; Marsh, 184; mill, 9, 253; Rector of, 45, *see also* Dutton, Richard de, Venables, Roger de, and Venables, Roger (le).
 Rotar', Adam, brother of Elyas, 28; Elyas, 28, 30.
 Roth(e)s-terne, -torne, Rouesthorn(e), *see* Rostherne.
the rough orchard, 133, 158, 161.

Round Croft(e) (Torkington), 303-304.
 Rousthorn, William de, 322.
 Rous-, Routhes- thorn(e), Rous-, Routhes- torn, Routh(e)s-, Routhis- thorn(e), Routhethorn', Rouyestorne, *see* Rostherne.
 Rowe, Joan, dau. Ralph, 259; Joan, w. William, 259; Ralph, 259; William, 259.
le Rowlowfylde (Knutsford), 63.
 Rowthorn', *see* Rostherne.
 Roylance, Thomas, 242.
 Royle, William, 225.
 Rudheath (Rudheth), 203.
 Ruggelegh', Simon de, Chamberlain of Chester, 35.
 Ruggeway, Thomas, 320.
 Ruycroft, Hugh de, 6.
le Rudyngghed (Torkington), 277.
Rydynges (Torkington), 289.
Rye Ridinges (Torkington), 296.
Rugweaye Crosse (Nether Knutsford), 205.
 Rygway, Roger, 257.
 Rylance, John, 168.
Rylance Bollyn (Wilmslow par.), 301.
Le Rylandes or Lynneys tenement (Wilmslow par.), 301.
 Ryle, John, 316; Laurence, 16.

 Sale, 24, 326 (xxiii).
 Salter, John, 94, 341.
le Salteresway, le Salterisway, 249.
 Sandaway, *see* Sandiway.
 Sandbach, 182.
 Sandbach', Richard de, kt., 21.
the Sand feild (Norbury Booths), 182. Cf. *Sanfeild, Sondefelde*.
 Sandiway (Sandaway), 188.
the Sanfeild, 239. Cf. *Sand feild, Sondefelde*.
 Savage, Sir John, High Steward of the Honor and Fee of Halton, 129; Thomas, rector of Checkley, 58.
the Schoales (Bosden), 316.
 Sefton (Seofton'), Lancs., Rector of, *see* Massey, John de.
 Shagh', Shaw, Ralph (del), 281-282, 291, 293.
the Shagh' Greve (Torkington), 287-288.
 Shakerley, Shakarley, Dame Anne, 290; Dorothy, *see* Legh; Elizabeth, w. Peter, 291, 295; Geoffrey, 142-143, 145, 145a, 291, 295.
 Shaw, Ralph del, *see* Shagh'.
 Shawe, Henry, 214.
Shaw's Intacks (Ollerton), 244.
the Sheephous meadow (Torkington), 316.
the Shepcote Flatt, 157.
the Shepon Flatte (Torkington), 287-288. Cf. *Shippen Flate*.
 Sherd, Edward, 51-52; John, 291.
 Shert, Edward del, 283; Geoffrey del, 63.
the Shippen Flate, 133. Cf. *Shepon Flatte*.
 Shore, Richard, 125-127.
 Shrewsbury, John, Earl of, Justice of Chester, 81 (1460); John, Earl of, 214 (1632).
 Siddeley, Samuel, 243.
the Sindere field, 317.
Skiffe Riddings (Mobberley), 221.
le Slaynemonsfylde, 66.

- Slaymonfeld* (Nether Knutsford), 84.
 Smallwood, 182.
 Smith [*Faber*], Hugh s. Richard, 197; Richard, s. Walter, 48.
 Smyght, John le, 66.
 Smyth, John de [sic], 50; Ralph le, 283; William le, 333.
 Sneade, Snede, Sir William, 130-131.
 Snelleston', Edward, brother of Thomas of, 337; Thomas of, 337.
 Snelliston', William de, 200.
 Snelson (Snelston), 145.
 Snelston', Thomas de, 76.
 Snoubal', Snouball', Thomas, 28, 31, 33-34, 326 (xi).
 Somerford (Somerford), 14.
 le *Sondefelde*, 48. Cf. *Sand feild*, *Sanfeild*.
 Sondes, Cecilia, w. Richard, 69; Richard, 69, 283.
 Soudelow, see Sudlow.
 Spencer, Thomas, 91.
 Spenser, Ralph, 194; Thomas, 194.
 le *Sperthe* (Mobberley), 199.
 the *Springe wood*, 133.
 the *Springwood plaine*, *Spring Wood Plaine* (Norbury Booths), 239-241.
 the *Stack Feild* or *Stack Feild Meadowe* (Torkington), 307.
 the *Stanfeld*, 133.
 Stanleg', Richard de, 280.
 Stanley, Sir Peter, 239; Peter, 1; Sir Thomas, 309; Thomas, the elder, 1; William, 353.
 le *Stanybrok'* (Bollington), 6.
 le *Stanyelessiche* (Torkington), 277.
 Stanylondes, John de, 197.
 Starke, Anne, 258; Katherine, 258; Richard, 122, 258.
 Statham, John de, chaplain, 46; Thomas de, 36.
 Stels, John, 296.
 Stephen, s. Roger, see Roger.
 Steple, John de, 246.
 le *Sterth(e)* (Mobberley), 200.
 Steward, Simon, 227.
 Stockley, Stockeley, Edmund, 164; Hamlet, 148; Leonard, 132, 148.
 Stockport (Stopford), 243, 305, 312.
 Stokley, Hamon, 320.
 Strethull', John de, 283.
 Strethyll, John, 320.
 Strettell', Charles, the elder, 119; John, 151; Margaret, 151.
 Stretton, 122.
 Strynger, John, 257; Thomas, 89.
 Stubbe, Geoffrey, 125-127.
 le *Stubbehallond* (Mobberley), 200.
 Stynger, Roger, 257.
 Sudlow (Soudelow, Sudlowe), deeds relating to, 125-127, 137, 142-143, 165, 172, 174, 176, 184, 187, 267-268.
 Sutton (near Macclesfield), 265-266.
 Swanley, Henry, 98; Jane, dau. Philip, see Heghefylde; Philip, 120, 205.
 Swetenham, Laurence, 14.
 Swettenham, Rector of, see Davy, Geoffrey.
 Swinton, Thomas, clerk, 173.
 Swynton, Hugh, 123-124; James, 96-97; John, 123-127; Thomas, 125-127; Thomas, warden of Nether Knutsford chapel, 110; William, 111-112.
 Sydebothum, John de, 283.
 Sydeswyrd, Richard, chaplain, 9, 71.
 Symcok, William, 336.
 Symson, Joan, dau. Nicholas, see Wyght; Nicholas, 53.
 Tabley (Tabeley), 19, 337; deeds relating to, 137, 267-268.
 — Nether, 156, 228, 230; deeds relating to, 142-143, 267.
 — Over or Superior, deeds relating to, 165, 184, 267-268.
 Tabley (Tabbeleg(h)', Tabbelg', Tabbilleg(h)', Tabeleg(h)', Tabeley, Tabeleg'h', Tabill', Tablegh', Talbillegh), Adam de, 19-20, 22, 25, 32, 231-232, 321, 326 (ii) (v) (viii) -(ix) (xi) (xiv), (xx) (xxii); Alice, formerly w. William de, 326 (xi); Margery, dau. William of, 337; Marion de, 43; William de (lord of Knutsford, lord of Tabley), p. 230, n. 1, 19-20; William de (lord of Knutsford), 23, 26, 34, 326 (ii) (vi) (ix); William de (witness), 326 (vii); William of, 337; William, s. William de, 29.
 le *Tailne*, 283.
 Tailor [Cissor], Gilbert, 28; Henry, 33; Thomas, 31, 326 (viii).
 Talbillegh', see Tabley.
 Tallbot, John, 164.
 Tarvin (Taryvn), 301-302.
 Tasker, Emnot, 100.
 Tatton, 181, 233, 243, 267, 324; chaplain of, see Adam; court, 231; mill, 231.
Tattonstye (Mobberley), 200.
 Taylier, John, 122.
 Taylor, John, 258.
 Tayllour', Hugh le, 66; Philippa, w. Hugh le, 66.
 Taylor, John, 145.
 Tele, Richard, 65; Richard le, 49; Thomas le, 49.
 Templer, Beatrice, 156.
 Thelwall (Thelewalle), 17.
 Thelwall, Thelewalle, Cecilia, formerly w. John de, see Crombwell'; Felicia, mother of William de, 17; John de, 50, 65; Robert de, 17; Vivian de, 17; William de, p. 232, 17; William, father of William de, 17.
 Thirlwys, Richard, 257.
 Thomas, chaplain, 232, 326 (ii); clerk, 26.
 — s. William s. Amelye, 34.
 — s. William s. Gilbert, 200.
 Thirlwynde, John, 117.
 Tymperley (Tymperley, Tymphurley), 57, 335.
 the *Toad Hole Meadow*, the *Todhall medow* (Norbury Booths), 133, 182.
 Tochet, John, lord of Audley and Heighley, Staffs., p. 232, 329; John (sen.), rector of Middlewich, 60, 64, 253.
 Toft, Ould, 179. Cf. Toft.

- Toft (Tofte), 82, 89, 115, 137, 183, 224, 238; deed relating to, 269; cross (Toftcrosse), 63; Overseers of the Poor of, 269.
- Toft, Tof', Tofte, Hugh de(l), chaplain, 46, 51-52, 62, 233; John de, 62; Joseph, 268; Margery, 268; Richard, the younger, 223; Roger de, 19-20, 26, 28, 30, 34, 196, 231-232, 249, 321-322, 326 (v) (viii) (xi); Thomas de, 75, 234; Thomas, 103, 108, 320; William de, chaplain, 234; William de, 25, 62. Cf. Toftt.
- Torkington (Torkinton', Torkyn(g)ton'), deeds relating to, 68, 71, 81-82, 94, 115, 131, 137, 142-143, 165, 184, 242, 270-319; Common (*Torkinton Comon, Torkynton Comyn, the Nether Com(m)on*), 292, 299-300; Green (*Torkington Greene, Torkynton Grene, the Lagher Grene*), 289, 292, 302; Hall, 308-313; smithy, 294.
- Torkington, Torkynton, Alice, wid. William de, 271; Edward, 296; Elena de, 278; John de, 278-279; John, of Tarvin, 301-302; John, of Torkington, 284, 292, 294, 296, 299; Richard de, 273-279; Richard, s. Robert de, 271-272; Robert de, 272; Robert, 301; Thomas de, 272, 280; Thomas de, jun., 280; Thomas, s. Richard de, 273-275, 278-279; Thomas (le) Warde, s. Richard de, see Warde.
- le *Toursfylde* (Knutsford), 63.
- Towne, Hugh, 58.
- Trafford, Edmund of, kt., 335; John de, 246.
- Tunstall, Richard, kt., Chamberlain of Chester, 81.
- Twemlow (Twemlowe), 82, 96, 98, 100; deed relating to, 320.
- the *Twisting Yard*, 317.
- the *Two Brundearthes*, 239. Cf. *Brandearthes*.
- the *two stuttoes* (?) (Hale), 16.
- Tymperley, Tympurley, see Timperley.
- Tyn, Hugh le, 323; John le, 323; Ranulf le, 323.
- Ughtrynton', see Oughttrington.
- Upton, Elizabeth, 218; William, 218.
- Urmeston', Adam de, 24.
- Urmston, Lancs., 209.
- Urmston, Anne, 180; John, 179; William, 262.
- Utkinton (Utkynton), 94.
- Valentyn, John le (de), 278-279.
- Vale Royal (Vale Royall), 158, 161.
- Valentyn', Agnes, dau. Richard, 272.
- Vaſan, Vaſhan, Robert, 36-37, 39-40.
- Venables, Venablis, Wenableys, Elizabeth [formerly w. John Legh (d. 1660)], p. 230, n., 239, 263, 356, see also Legh; Hugh de, kt., 21, 196, 250, 323, 326 (ix); Hugh, 341; John le, 72; Piers, 91; Peter, of Kinderton, p. 230, n., 158, 161; Richard, 125-126; Robert, p. 230, n., 1, 356; Roger de, Rector of Rostherne, 4, 28, 251; Roger (le), Rector of Rostherne, 58, 72, 254; William de, 247, 249-250; William, of Colborne David, 82; William, of Kinderton, 91.
- Venator*, see Hunter.
- Vernon, Vernun, Hugh de, 325; Radulf de, kt., 21, 323, 326 (ii) (xix); Radulf de, 249; Radulf, s. *dominus* Radulf de, 326 (iii); Richard de, 280; Robert de, 25; William, brother of Robert de, 25; William, 250. Cf. Vernony.
- the *Vernons Croft*, 239.
- Vernony [sic], Robert de, 197. Cf. Vernon.
- Vernun, see Vernon.
- Vivian, clerk, 271.
- Vyvyan, chaplain of Adlington, 274-275.
- Wade, Robert, 32, 326 (ix).
- Wade lowne* (Ollerton), 235.
- Walens, Wladus, 325.
- Wales, South, 329.
- Walkeden(e), Hugh de, 277, 280.
- Walker, Joshua, 242; William le, 30.
- Wallasey (Wallisay), 173.
- Wallebrock, Wylebrok*, 25, 326 (vi) (xiii) (xix). Cf. *Wilbroc*.
- Walleclif* (Knutsford), 32.
- Walter, Adam s., 28.
- Walton, Thomas, 112.
- Ward, Richard, 239.
- Warde, Richard, s. Roger le, 202; Roger le, 198; Thomas (le), s. Richard de Torkington, 276-277.
- Wardley (Wordley), Lancs., 299.
- Warford (Warforde, Werford), 142-143, 204, 336.
- Great (Great Werford), 321-322; mill, 321-322.
- Warmingham (Wermyncham), parson of, see Mainwaring, John.
- Waterhouse, Elizabeth, 224-225.
- Watts, William, 182.
- Waverton, 323.
- Wenablesys, see Venables.
- Wenyn-ton', Robert de, 196-197.
- Werberton, Geoffrey de, kt., 35.
- Werden, John, 301.
- le *Were* (Bollington), 6.
- Werford, see Warford.
- Wermyncham, see Warmingham.
- Wever(e), Thomas de (of), 331-332, 335.
- Wharmbey, John, 314.
- Wharmby, James, 296; William, 300.
- Wharnby, John, 308.
- Wheteacres, John de, 283.
- Whichcote, Elizabeth [Legh], w. Thomas, 161.
- Whitchurch, Salop, 179.
- le *Whitebruch*, le *white bruche* (Nether Knutsford), 75, 268. Cf. le *Quittebruche*.
- Whitelegg, William, 225.
- Whitley, John, 84.
- Whitmor, Henry, 117.
- Whyther, Thomas, 253.
- Wiche Malbanke, see Nantwich.
- Wilbraham, Peter, 1, 239; Richard, 296; Roger, 1.
- Wilbroc* (Mobberley), 196. Cf. *Wallebrock*.
- Wilcocson', Richard, 254.
- Willemott, James, 343.
- William s. Amelye, Thomas s., 34.

- William s. Gilbert, Thomas, s., 200.
 — s. Honde, *see* Honde.
 Willys, Thomas, 361.
 Wimboldsley (Wimblesley), Lea Hall in, 358.
 Wiralehull' (Mobberley), 200.
 Witton, 226.
 Wodd, John, 336.
 Wode, Elena, wid. Thomas, 88; Hugh, 102;
 John of the, 337; Robert del, 254.
le Wodehouses, (Rostherne), 252.
 Wodford, Matilda de, 58.
 Wolfhede, Hugh de, 333.
 (le) Wollardesden, Wollardesdene (Knutsford), 283,
 326 (iii).
 Wolmer, Wolmore, Alice de, 283; Edward, 108;
 Ellen, 125-127; Geoffrey, 108; James,
 103-104, 106, 320; John, 108; Laurence,
 103-105, 122, 258, 345; Nicholas, 100, 320;
 Richard de, 67, 69, 78; Thomas, 103-106,
 345. Cf. Wulmeir.
 Wolriche, John, 246.
the Wood (Torkington), 316.
 Wood, Capt. J. Hatton, p. 229; Peter, 181;
 Richard Henry, pp. 229, 230-31; Thomas,
 222.
 — MSS., Hatton, pp. 229-30.
the Wood Croft, 317.
the Wood Croft Rough, 317.
the wood parke, 158, 161.
 Wordehewer, Henry, s. Thomas le, 34.
 Wordley, *see* Wardley.
 Worsley (Workesley), Lancs., 58, 234.
 Worsley, John, 242; William, 195.
 Worth, Henry de, 270; Robert de, 280; Thomas,
 s. Henry de, 280.
 Worthington, Ellen, *see* Fox; Isaac, 222;
 Margaret, 213; Roger, 210, 212-213.
 Wrench, Thomas, 226.
 Wrenche, John, 102.
 Wright, Henry, 243, 360; Laurence, 299, 302;
 William, 243; William le, 283.
 Wryghtinton', Nicholas de, chaplain, 65.
 Wulmeir, Laurence, 117, 118. Cf. Wolmer.
 Wyatt, Robert, 263.
 Wych', John, 41.
 Wyco, Robert de, 248.
 Wyght, Joan (dau. Nicholas Symson), wid.
 William, 53.
 Wyldcolt, Richard le, 47.
Wylebrok, *see* Wallebrock.
 Wylkenson, Randolph, 295.
 Wylme, Laurence, 192.
 Wyninton', Wynninton, Robert de, 322; Robert,
 s. Robert de, 321.
 Wynstanley, Geoffrey, 96.
Wyrlehal (Mobberley), 196.
 Wyrinn, Adam de, 322.
 Yaiton, *see* Eaton.
 Yarewood, John, 179.
 Yarwood (Zarewode, Yarewode, Yarwodde,
 Yarwoode), 9, 68, 71, 258.
 Yarwood, Jonathan, 242.
 Yarwoode, John, 139; Parnell, 139; Richard,
 139.
the Yarwoods Milnefeild, 239.
 Yate, John, chaplain, 89.
 Yokyssale, Hugh de, 33.